12

A CENSURE OF

That Reverend and Learned man of God

Mr. JOHN COTTON,

Lately of *New-England*, upon the way of Mr. *Henden* of *Bennenden* in *Kent*, expreſſed in ſome Animadverſions of his upon a Letter of Mr. *Henden's*, ſometimes ſent to Mr. *Elmeſton*.

2. A brief and ſolid Exercitation concerning the Coercive power of the Magiſtrate in matters of Religion, by a reverend and learned Miniſter, Mr. *Geoge Petter*, lately of *Bread* in *SUSSEX*.

3. Mr. *Henden's* Animadverſions on Mr. *Elmeſtons's* Epiſtle Reviſed and Chaſtized.

Aug. 26.

LONDON,
Printed by J. G. for JOHN STAFFORD, at the ſigne of the George neer Fleet Bridge. 1656.

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Lately of New-England, upon the way of Mr. Henden of Bennenden in Kent, expressed in some Animadversions of his upon a Letter of Mr. Henden's, sometimes sent to Mr. Elmeston.

2. Abrief and solid Exercitation concerning the Coercive power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion, by a reverend and learned Minister, Mr. George Petter, lately of Bread in SUSSEX.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

Mr. Hendons ANIMADVERSIONS *On* *Mr.* Elmestons EPISTLE, *Revised and Chastised.*

I Will say little to your Preface, but leave it to the discreet, judicious, and godly Reader, to examine and censure as he findes cause. Onely I desire that the Reader may know, that it is but your vain Surmise, that my other Answer to your Letter (as you intimate in the beginning of your Preface, and hint elsewhere in your Book) was the joynt-labour of sundry Neighbor-Ministers concurring with me. Touching which I can truly say, that not any of them, no not the neerest to me knew much of it, I am sure saw not a line of it, untill I had sent a Copy of it to your selfe. So farre were they from contributing their Midwifry to the Birth of it. There was but *unum ad unum*, according to the * Proverb. But this is the over-weening confidence that you have of your selfe, that like *Miles gloriosus*, the braggadosia Souldier in *Plautus*, you think me too weak a man to grapple with you: and indeed I boast not of my abilities. What I am, I am by the grace of God alone, whom also I thank

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*Erasm. Chil. 2. Cent 2.

thank for that small mite of Learning, humane or divine, that I have. But as St. *Augustine* saith, so say I, *Ego parvas vires habeo, sed Dei verbum magnas habet*; I have but small strength: but the Word of God and the Truth have great power. And as the learned Doctor *Reynolds*, *Bonam causam vel infans sustineat, malam vix Cicero patronus sufficiat.* A very Babe may uphold a good cause, but *Cicero* himselfe is scarce a sufficient Patron for a bad. It savours of the like arrogant spirit, that you would have my Answer to you come forth in the name, and with the united forces of all our Ministers. What is this but some spice of *Goliah's* termagant spirit, who did defie the whole Host of *Israel*? and more than an *Herculean* courage, of whom the Proverb is, *Nè Hercules quidem contra duos*, *Hercules* himselfe would not take on him to deale with two. Methinks I heare from you the brags of that flattering Parasite to his Braggadosia Master, that he, *Hostium legiones difflavit spiritu quasi ventus folia*, that he had blown away legions of enemies with a blast, as the wind doth leaves. It may be for all this your boasting you may have your hands full of one ere we have done, as the Braggadosia Dares in the Poet, had of aged *Entellus*, who upon encounter with that aged Worthy, notwithstanding his insolent boast and challenge, was faine to yeild him up the Bucklers upon *Æneas* timely advice, who saw it like else to go ill with him, saying,

Nonne alias vires, conversaq; numina sentis?
Cede Deo.——

Do'st thou not feele a strength above thine own,
And God against thee? Unto God sit down.

Cited by Mr. Burg. vindic. leg. in the Preface Orat. post Mish. 1573.

Chiliads 1. Cent. 5.

Plaut. Mil. glor. Act. 10. Scen. 1.

Virg. Æn. 5.

But leaving further to meddle with your Preface, I passe to your Animadversions, where you tell me, that my Epistle comes galloping in, *&c.* Whereto I say, That I was never noted among my neigbours for a Galloper, but one that usually rode a sober pace: The more unlikely is it that I should turne Galloper in my age, or that my Epistle should come galloping in, and that upon a wooden Horse, who could not sure be very free of motion, but as he was drawne by others strength. But howsoever thus you jeere at this not wooden story, as you scoff, but a pleasant Poeticall fiction, yet the application of it to your opinion and practise, about

about an Universall toleration in Religion, doth so fully meet with you therein, that it makes you kick and lash like a Jade nettled in the breech. It is a vile and lewd perverting of my words & meaning, to say (as you doe) that liberty granted to tender consciences in Religion, is by me compared to this Trojan Horse: For I speak plainly of an Universall toleration of all wayes and consciences in Religion, and that not as established and owned by the State (as some did calumniate me) (For I knew, and know that there was an Act made against *Ranterisme*, that they had declared themselves against *Arrians* in condemning Mr. *Fry* his book; and against *Socinians* in ordering the *Cracovian* Catechisme to be burnt, for which their zeal for Christ and his Truth, I blesse the Lord, and wish, that from all Gods people they may have their deserved honour) but I mentioned it onely as a thing pleaded for, taken up by the head-strong practise of too many, which is sadly evident to the World. And is there no difference between such a vast toleration, and a just liberty granted unto tender consciences? If men will be blasphemous *Mahumetans*, execrable *Arrians*, and *Socinians*, idolatrous *Papists*, grosse *Arminians*, wretched Soule-*Mortalists*, fantastick *Seekers*, &c. Are these to be tolerated as men of tender consciences in Religion? Such onely have been counted men of tender consciences in Religion, whose mistakes have been in matters indifferent, or at least in points not fundamentall, of an inferiour allay, carrying themselves in an humble and peaceable way, and not strugling to make parties and rents in the Church; with whom much patience is to had, and to whom due liberty is to be granted. But surely such as erre in matters fundamentall, or next to the foundation, and pertinaciously persist therein, after due paines taken with them, to informe them in the truth, and convince them of their errour, yea, and also openly professe, and spread them abroad to seduce others, are far from men of tender consciences, unlesse Drunkards, Adulterers, Railers, &c. be so also, with whom Hereticks are coupled, *Gal.* 5. 20. Tender Consciences and true Grace may meet in one subject, and none indeed are truly of tender Conscience, but such as are truly Gracious.

But what spark of saving Grace can be in such, whose mindes and consciences are possessed and corrupted with damnable errours

rors and hereſies, as *Peter* calls them? It is but cenſorious ignorance which you manifeſt in taxing me for the uſe of this Poeticall fiction of the *Trojan Horſe*; nor is it utterly unſuitable to the majeſty of Divinity (though in this my Epiſtle I treat of no ſpeciall point of Divinity) eſpecially in controverſall writings to make uſe of Poeticall fictions, or Poetry, when as the Apoſtle in his preaching and writing, did think the ſpeeches of Heathen Poets ſuitable enough to his moſt ſerious Divinity, as appeares *Acts* 17. 28. 1 *Cor.* 15. 33. *Tit.* 1. 11. where he doth alledge them: And ſay that this is but a Fiction, yet is is a rule among Logicians, that feigned examples and ſimilitudes ſerve to illuſtrate as well as true, *Ficta ſimilitudo parem vim habet veris*, A feigned ſimilitude is of like force with the true; *Exemplorum*, ſaith another, *non eſt exquirenda veritas, ſed ſolum rei propoſitæ declaratio aut convenientia.* The truth of examples is not to be looked to, but only the declaration of the matter propounded & their fitneſſe for it. It is alſo but a poor ſnarling to carp at a word, that upon mention of this Poeticall Fiction I call, by way of alluſion, our Church our *Troy*: Sure I am that it is an expreſſion which a thrice noble Authour, for Birth, Honour, Learning and Piety, thought it not unfit to uſe, namely, *Philip Mornæ*, Lord of *Pleſſis*; At whom to carp would ſooner bewray much audacious folly in you, than any whit aſperſe his wiſdome and gravity. And touching your farther deſcant upon this name, it is a wild and roving conceit, that *Rome* was built by any roving Trojans, when there were more than four hundered years between *Æneas* coming into *Italy* with his Trojans, and the building of *Rome* by *Romulus* and *Remus*, when the wandering of the Trojans was ceaſed, yea their name loſt, and extinguiſhed, though ſome of the race might remain though ſwallowed up by other nations, and under other names. 2. Where and by whom *Rome* is called a ſecond *Troy*, if you had ſhewed, I ſhould have been beholding to you for that piece of Philology: For I confeſſe ingenuouſly, it is not within the compaſſe of my memory. 3. It is a wrong to our Church in *England* (now as it is) to call it Hierarchicall, when it was of that frame, the good Party groaned under ſuch Lords as an heavy burthen, and it hath now clean caſt them off, and changed its face and form into a Church Miniſteriall; your petty Separation comes neerer to an

Anar-

Ramus dialect. lib. 1. cap. 21.

Zabarel. de mente humanâ, cap. 8.

In his Preface to his myſtery of Iniquity, not far from the end.

Bucbol. in Chron.

Anarchy, than our Church-state to an Hierarchy. Last, It is a wonder you tell us of, *viz.* of a Christian Church arising out of the ashes of a *Pagan* City. The Proverb is, *E squilla non nascitur Rosa*, The sweet Rose growes not out of the strong scented Sea-onion, much more unlikely it is that a City of God should arise out of a Palace of Sathan: You love, if not all devouring words, as the Prophet speaks, *Psal.* 52. 3. yet all biting words. But if you mean (as some speak) of a noble Trojan, *Brutus* arriving in *England*, that English-men are descended of old of the Trojan Blood, that hath been counted the honour of the Nation, or if any blemish be in it, it reflecteth on you, yours, and your company, as much as upon us or any other. *Chiliad* 2. Cent. 3.

Concerning *Troy*'s dissolution, I speak not of the Meritorious Cause that did procure it, which was (as you say) their retaining of that Strumpet *Helena*, but of the Active Cause, which by fire and sword did lay it wast, which were the Grecian Captains hidden in that Horse, and the other Grecian Army joyning with them. And for any such accursed thing to be found amongst us, we are as free by Gods grace, and so shall be, and far from any such spirituall Harlotry, as you are in this your censure of us from Christian Charity. But whatsoever be amongst us, I see not but that you allow, and would bring in amongst us as provoking, and evill, and a more filthy Harlot, than was *Helena*, viz. an universall toleration for all Religions. For *Helena*, though she lewdly forsook her Husband *Menelaus*, and ran away with *Paris*, yet as long as she lived she was faire and honest toward him. But this Harlot-Toleration doth allow men liberty to commit spirituall Fornication, with any false Religion, and at pleasure to give a bill of Divorce to the old, and take up a new. That liberty (which I yoak, you say, most unfitly to the Trojan wooden Horse) what is it but an universall Toleration for all Wayes and Consciences in Religion? Which Liberty (say you) is a precious Jewell, bought for men by the invaluable ransome of *Jesus Christ*. In which words I doubt you are little aware what you say. What hath Christ shed his blood, that men might have liberty to deny his Deity, to reproach the Scriptures, to be Arrians, Socinians, Papists, and to be what they please in point and profession of Religion? I trust you abhorre to affirme such things. And yet such

ſuch horrid conſequences muſt needs enſue thereupon, if the liberty, which I ſo compare, be the Jewell ſo purchaſed, ſince I manifeſtly ſpeak it, and that onely of ſuch an univerſall and generall toleration. And ſuch as will ſo ſay, may as well ſay, that Chriſt hath ſhed his precious blood to procure men a liberty to whore, ſwear, and be drunk, as to be of what way in Religion they pleaſe. Groſſe wayes in falſe Religion, and foule Errors and Hereſies, do tend as much to the diſhonour of Chriſt, and damnation of mens ſoules, as ſuch foule and groſſe ſins. It is true what you adde, that *by Chriſt we are redeemed from vaine traditions and humane thraldome, to be a free and willing people in Chriſts ſervice.* But ſuch a liberty comes farre ſhort of that vaſt liberty, to be of what Religion we pleaſe, and to be tolerated therein without any controll from the Magiſtrate. You ſpightfully and falſely charge me, as defaming our noble Patriots about their honourable endeavours, and proſperous ſucceſſe in preventing the over-flowing of Popery, promoting the Goſpel, repreſſing Tyranny, or procuring us any juſt Liberty in the State or Religion: For the which I bleſſe the Lord, and honour them according to their moſt worthy deſerts. But ſuch a vaſt and wide liberty (as I ſpeak of, and you alſo muſt mean, if you anſwer to the point) *viz.* a toleration for all wayes and conſciences in Religion, as Chriſt never purchaſed for us, ſo cannot I acknowledge, that the State doth allow it, however ſundry plead for it, and uſurp it. And therefore you do more reproachfully defame them, to make them Patrons of ſuch a wicked Liberty, than I, who deny them to be ſo. But whether it be uſurped onely, or whether it ſhould be eſtabliſhed (which God forbid I ſhould) I would never write upon ſuch a Liberty, or the procuring of it, as you ſay I ought. This is the finger of God. That can never be the work of Gods finger, which is contrary to the word of his mouth. I dos not complain of ſuch a toleration, as in particular deſtructive unto us, but as to the welfare of the Goſpel and Church in the whole Land; which ſad effect it would as manifeſtly tend unto, as a generall Peſtilence, in which infected perſons were permitted to walk abroad among the ſound, to the deſtroying the health of a Nation, and making the diſeaſe the more generall and mortall among them.

In which estate of Religion, though we have, and might have, more liberty than heretofore under the Prelates, and were to be thankfull to God and Man for our liberty to serve God in his own way. Yet no good Christian but must needs take it to heart, to the great abatement of his comfort, to see as much liberty granted to Errour, Heresie, Idolatry, &c. as to Christ's owne saving Truth, and that such abominations to Christs open dishonour, and the damnation of soules should have free course and passage. I know not well what you mean by a Worldly power, whose Prop our Church should need. The civill power of the Magistrate, especially in a Christian, is unfitly so nick-named: For it is an Ordinance of God, and not meerely of the World, and ought to be imployed for God: It may degenerate into a meere worldly power, in the hands of pagan and prophane persons, when it is exercised onely about worldly matters, with a neglect of Religion, yea perhaps against Christ and true Religion. But if by it you mean the civill Power, I doubt not but that our Church, as a true Church of Christ, can stand without that prop. But withall I give you to know, that even Christs true Church and Religion, though it can stand without such worldly support, doth yet the more flourish, spread and lift up its head, when the civill Magistrate doth undertake the protection, and doth countenance it not onely against Persecution, but also against contrary Schisms, Heresies, and Idolatry. It was some benefit which the Lord did mean the Church should enjoy by the civill Power, when he did promise that Kings should be *nursing Fathers*, and Queens *nursing Mothers* thereunto. Where let it be noted, that the promise is made unto the Church, and not to all wayes in Religion, though Heretical and Idolatrous, as if they should have equall protection and countenance from Kings, Queenes, and supreme Magistrates with the Church. Isa. 49. 23.

And what benefit the Church hath by the protection and support of the Magistrate, as our *England* may sufficiently witnesse, where Religion did more flourish in the free and open worship of God, and the number of professions of Religion under the reigne of *Edward* the sixt, blessed Queen *Elizabeth* &c. the one whereof was even in his younger dayes a *nursing Father*, the other all her dayes a *nursing Mother* to the Church; then in the dayes of Queen

Mary,

Mary, a cruell Step-dame and persecutor thereof. So if we take a survey of States abroad, certainly we shall perceive that the Church and Religion doth prosper better in *Geneva* and its territory and among the *Helvetian* Protestants, where one way of true Religion is mainteined, than in *Polonia*, such States wherein this mingle-mangle is tolerated.

Next, you would have me remember, that the Primitive was built not by Power, but by the Spirit, *That by the Spirit Christ went forth conquering*; *That the Stone dashing, all opposers was cut out of the mountaine without hands*; *That Gods people are a willing people, and never act nobly but out of a principle of love.* All this I doe desire to remember. But what is all this to prove an Universall toleration of all wayes and consciences in Religion, which was the thing I insisted on as the main root of much mischief amongst us? What? cannot the Church be built, nor Christ conquer by the Spirit, nor *Daniels* Stone be cut out of the Mountaine without hands, nor Gods people be a willing people, nor act out of love, unlesse such an universall toleration be allowed, and it be left as free for men to be Atheists, Mahumetans, Arrians, Papists, Hereticks, and Sectaries of any kinde, as well as to be true, sound, and orthodox Christians? This is a mystery you had need to open to us, how such a toleration doth conduce any whit to make the Gospel the more powerfull in converting, or Gods people the more free and willing in believing and professing.

Zech. 4.6. Revel 6 2. Dan. 2.34. Psal. 110.3. and 47.9. 2 Cor. 5.14.

But it seemes you muster up these forces against all coercive power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion:

But first, There was no need to fall upon this controversie, if your intent were onely to plead for some due liberty for tender consciences, that dissent in lesser matters, and that in a modest, meek, and peaceable way, which I did not gainsay, who onely bent my speech against this miscreant and universall toleration.

2. If you intend to argue against all such coercive power here is committed by you ignorated Elenchi, you argue not against the question as it ought to be stated, which perhaps you conceale, that your arguing may be the more plausible among your Disciples, and other simple and well-meaning Readers, but such as doe not well understand the state of this controversie. For you know

which

which you should have let your Reader know (which one thing understood, would have cut the sinews of most of your Reasons hudled together about this in your Preface) that we do not say, that the Magistrate hath power to compell any man to believe the Gospell, or to compell such as are strangers from the Faith, to take up the profession of it. But we affirm,

1. That the Magistrate may and ought to prohibite his Subjects now in the dayes of the Gospel the open exercise of Impious and Idolatrous worship, the open profession of ungodly Errors and Heresies, yea, also of rash and uncharitable rents from the true Church in his Dominion, and the open neglect and prophaning of the Lords day.

2. It is in his power, and it becometh him to command them, yea, even such as be strangers from the Faith, to attend that worship of God which is naturally morall, as to hear the Word read and preached, that they may be convinced of their false Religion, instructed in the true Faith, and converted to it by the Lords blessing coming in upon their hearing, and others outwardly professing the Faith, might be confirmed in it, and converted in the Inner man to a reall and powerfull profession of it; and also to joyn in prayer and praising God. It doth not impeach this assertion, that *David* did not cause the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and other Idolatrous Nations, conquered by him, to renounce their Idolatrous Worship, but did suffer them in it; nor did send any to teach them Gods Law, or constraine them to attend it. The Lord in those dayes had confined his worship and covenant of Salvation onely to the people of the Jewes, and would not have it made common generally to other Nations, except to some few Proselytes that came in, but had shut them out from this Covenant; wherefore *David* was not obliged to any such care of them, nor had any warrant to send any to teach them Gods Lawes and Wayes: but now under the Gospel there is no such restraint; but as God would have all men to repent, and his Grace is free for all Nations: So supreme Magistrates, had they any Heathen under their power, they were so as above to exercise their power, to put down their Idolatry, and bring them to Gods worship. But this is to be taken in by the way, That meer force is not to be used, but instruction and teaching to informe in

the truth, and to perſwade the will ought to go along with power, that they be not driven as Beaſts, but led fairly along, as men of reaſon and underſtanding.

3. For ſuch Subjects as have been baptized into the faith of Chriſt, and ſo have given themſelves to the profeſſion of it, the Magiſtrate may and ought to provide againſt their renouncing of the Faith, and falling to Hereſie and Idolatry, and for their ſubmitting to meanes of being further taught and built up in it, and holding forth the profeſſion of it, as otherwiſe, ſo eſpecially in frequenting the worſhip of God.

Laſt, The Magiſtrate may and ought, by his Authority, not onely give way to the profeſſion of the true Religion, and ſome way to countenance it, but is bound to provide that Gods Word be preached by faithfull and able Miniſters, that they be encouraged and well maintained, and to command the practice of Gods worſhip in all points by Gods people.

Now your Scriptures make not againſt this Aſſertion thus explained: For they chiefly intend the inward converſion, and work of Grace in the heart, which is onely the work of the Spirit, and to which the civil power cannot reach; nor doe we allow him to meddle with it, as if by his Lawes he could work it. They concern not theſe outward actions mentioned, which may be reached and regulated by the civill Power. And though inward Converſion be the ſole work of the Spirit, yet doth it not exclude the uſe of outward meanes, which do either more directly conduce or occaſionally make ſome way for that work.

1. It doth not exclude the preaching, hearing, or other uſe of Gods Word, by which the Spirit worketh Faith and other ſaving Graces in men: Nor,

2. Doth it exclude the exerciſe of Church-cenſures, which availe to keep men in the Faith, and an holy Converſation: Nor,

3. The command of the Magiſtrate (ſo far as hath been ſaid) to reſtraine men from Idolatry and Hereſie, which cannot but hinder the work of true Converſion; and to command the attendance on the Word preached, and other meanes of inſtruction, whereby men may be brought under the ſhadow of the holy Ghoſt, that he may work on them.

But to touch upon your Scriptures more particularly; for that

of

of *Zecharie*, I shall desire the Reader to wait for the clearing of it, untill I come to a passage in your Book following, where it is againe alledged, and will be more fitly examined: To that of *Rev.* 6. 2. it is but your single conceit (as you affect to be an odde man by your selfe) that by the *white Horse* whereon *Christ* is said there to *ride forth conquering*, or the Bow in his hand is meant of the Spirit: It is an expression not to be parallel'd, and sense not well sounding, to say, That *Christ doth ride on the Spirit*, or *carry the Spirit in his hand*: It is the more generall and genuine sense to understand it of the preaching of the Gospel, according to that of *Psal* 45. where Christ is bid to *ride forth*, verse 4. *as on an horse*, which is there expounded his truth, and *furnished with sharp arrows*, verse 5. *to pierce the heart of his enemies*. Now the preaching of the Word doth carry forth Christ, as it were, on Horse back, in the view of men, and out of it, as a Bow in his hand, doth he shoot his divine Doctrine, Promises, and Threats which pierce to the heart of men; and by it he did, and doth conquer the world. The preaching of the Gospel hath its efficacy indeed from the Spirit going forth with it; which conquering power of the preaching of the Gospel, and of the Spirit the command of the Magistrate, as above declared, doth no way hinder, but promote rather, as tending to bring men within the rode of that white Horse, that they may be conquered by his Rider, and brought to his Obedience, and within the reach of his Bow, that his Arrowes may pierch their hearts with godly sorrow for sin, and make them fall downe unto Christ. *Subordinata non pugnant*, saith the Logician, *Things subordinate fight not one with another, but are subservient one to the other*. For the *Stone* cut out of the *Mountain* without hands, *Dan.* 2. 34. it doth indeed typifie Christ and the Church his Kingdome. And as he, concerning his *humane nature*, was framed in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, without any procreation from man, and set up as King of the Church by God alone, without mans concurrence, so his Church and Kingdome was first set up by Gods onely power and authority, and not by that of Man; but so that outward means were and are also used by him, and all is not done by the immediate power of God, without any use of meanes, as at first the world was created by him. For there are Ministers employed to preach the Gospell,

Keckerman. System. log. l. 10. sect. 2. cap. 5.

Magistrates set on work to countenance and defend it, and by their authority to set it up in their Countreys, Professours raised up to hold it forth in their lives, to suffer for it; but these means are so used by the Lord, that the whole work and successe of it appears to be from Gods power and blessing alone, not at all from man, as hereafter I shall more largely shew, and so is cut out, as it were without hands. It is manifest, that in the overthrow of those mighty Monarchies figured and set out, *Dan.* 2. the Lord did use the power of the Sword and Armies; and I believe that you think that Christ this Stone doth so now, and will doe the like in dashing to pieces all the mighty Opposers of his Kingdome. And therefore all things that are done toward the advancement of this Kingdome, are not wholly done without hands or externall meanes: And why then may not Christ also use some hands or externall meanes, in some things that more directly tend to the setting up and maintaining his Church and Kingdom? whose successe and efficacy yet is not from themselves, but wholly from Christs power and spirit, and so effected, as it were, without hands. For *Psal.* 110.3. and 47.9. which say, That *Gods people must be a willing people*; and 2 *Cor.* 5.14. That *they act not nobly, unlesse out of love.* How doth the command of the Magistrate, as it is above laid downe, hinder them in Gods service to be a *willing people*, or to *act out of love*? For if they command good and lawfull things, the command doth not hinder their willingnesse in the doing of them, but encourage them in it, as knowing that they shall do them with praise and approbation. If they restraine them by their command from evill things, men ought not at any time to be willing to doe evill, but rather should willingly be restrained from it. And it is better that against their will they be restrained from evill, than that they be permitted willingly to rush into it. It is also an *Antinomian* misconceit to think that nothing is done willingly, and out of love to God, which is done out of obedience and respect to a commandement enjoyning or prohibiting it. 2. Gods people were to be a *willing people* in his service, and to *act out of love* under the Law also as well as the Gospel. For there must be a willing minde and working out of love before any thing will be accepted: And yet *Abraham* is commended, that he would not onely exhort and perswade,

1 Chro. 29.9.
Deut. 6.5.
2 Cor. 8.12.

perſwade, but out of his authourity command his houſhold to feare God; and *Aſa* likewiſe, that he commanded *Judah* to ſeek the Lord God, and to doe the Law, &c. Which courſe of theirs, had it hindred the willingneſſe of thoſe that were commanded in Gods ſervice, or their acting out of love, it may ſeem ſtrange that thoſe ſo godly perſons ſhould practice it, ſtranger that it is recorded to the praiſe of both. 3. It is as much required that men ſhould be willing to abſtain from foule ſins againſt the ſecond Table, and to doe the good duties of it, and that herein they ſhould act out of love; about which yet you allow the Magiſtrate to make lawes to reſtraine men from Murder, Fornication, Theft, &c. and to cauſe them to be ſober, honeſt, and juſt. And how then doth this willingneſſe, and acting out of love, hinder Magiſtrates from making meet Lawes in matters of Religion? Laſt, Nothing can be ſpoken more punctually than that of the Apoſtle, concerning Servants, that what they doe in the Maſters ſervice, they ſhould doe it heartily and willingly. Notwithſtanding, ſurely you will grant Maſters that authority over Servants, as to lay their command upon them, to doe them juſt ſervice, and to puniſh the neglect of it. Willingneſſe to doe good, and acting out of love, is nothing hindred, but may be promoted by the command of Authority. It is true, that if a thing be done onely out of obedience and reſpect to mans command, it wants its acceptance with God, but it is good in it ſelfe; and though an humane command may give ſome occaſion to the doing of it, yet a godly perſon will doe it alſo, yea, and more out of the love of God, and to ſhew his ready obedience to him. But here we have a Criticiſme caſt in by the way, *viz.* that the *Hebrew Text* carries it to ſignifie voluntaries, as well as willing people, as if, forſooth, there were ſome great and obſervable difference between theſe two words; when the one is but our common Engliſh word, the other coyned out of the Latine, and are both the ſame in ſenſe and ſignification. Next, we have a ſilly cavil about the Errors named, as coming out of the womb of an univerſall toleration. Nay, ſay you, they were long extant before ſuch a toleration was granted, and ſo that could not be a womb to breed and bring them forth.

Gen. 18. 19. 2 Chron. 14. 4.

Eph. 6. 6, 7. Col. 3. 23.

Anſw. 1. It is more than we know that ſuch a Toleration is

yet granted: If it be, shew us the act for it. It is and hath been indeed long pleaded for, and practised.

2. For those Errours and Heresies, I speak not of their first rising, which was heretofore in forraigne parts, and those perhaps where too much way was given for such a Toleration; but of their intruding, spreading and multiplying in our Land. Concerning which, if we look back unto the writings and practises of some later yeares, it will appeare, that if the one were not extant before the other, that yet like two bad weeds, they grew up together, and that this Toleration, did if not give them their first birth, yet conferre much to their growth and enlargement. What then becomes of that clamour that I have here *non-plus'd* all *Logicians*, as denying the cause to precede the effect, and am one unworthy to be disputed with, as denying the maine principles of Reason?

Nè sevi magnus sacerdos.

Good words, I pray you, be not so eager, but let me in cold blood argue the matter with you. If I were palpably mistaken in the rise and beginning of these things (which you have not proved, but barely affirmed) the mistake were onely in my calculating the time of their Nativity, not in my denying that Logicall Axiome, *Causa est prior effectu*. If this Axiome were alledged to confute me, I should as readily receive the Axiome as you; onely the question would be which of these were the cause, which the effect, and which was before the other, whether that Toleration, or these Errors and Heresies in nature and time: I may here then return you some of your own language, that my intellectualls (as you jeere) were not so much disturbed with any heat of passion against Sectaries, as your braines were taken with the whirligig out of your eager humour to carp and snarle: What followes is more serious. *If Errours arise* (say you) *not carnall but spirituall weapons must beat them down.*

Answ. I grant that spirituall weapons, as preaching, conference, Church-censures and prayer, are the most proper and effectuall for this work, as more directly tending to informe in the Truth, convince of Error, and perswade mens hearts and minds, and such are first and most to be used in this case. But by your leave no these onely: Spiritual weapons must be used against sinnes against the *second Table*, as preaching, admonition, Church-censures to convince

vince men thereof, to restrain them and bring them to repentance. But if these alone should be used, such sins and sinners would not so fully and effectually be represſed, as when withall civill Lawes are made against them, and such punishments prepared for them: So here Spirituall weapons alone may be too weak to beat downe Errors and Heresies, and keep them from breaking out, and spreading abroad. But if with these Spirituall weapons the carnall (as you in some scorne call them) *viz.* the prohibition of the Magistrate, and some moderate punishment be added, they will doe good, as otherwise, so to make erroneous persons the more seriously to consider of their wayes, whether they be right or wrong, and the more ready to receive the truth manifested to them, which otherwise out of pride and selfe-conceit they will reject: It is too well known that most erroneous persons are of the nature of the Servant *Solomon* speaketh of, who will not be corrected with words, though he understand well enough his Masters minde; yet upon bare words he will not answer, nor be brought unto his duty: So is it with these persons for the most, let them be never so fully convinced, let the truth be never so clearly manifested to them, so that they cannot put it off but with grosse shifts; yet for all words and spiritual weapons, they will not yeild to it, but of haughtinesse of spirit persist in their errors, and be oft more pertinatious and turbulent in their way.

Errors and Offences you say must come according to the Scripture, to manifest the approved, and to make Truth's victory the more glorious.

Answ. If they must be, and that by Gods permission, *&c.* must they therefore be suffered to go on without controll or contradiction? If so, it is not lawfull to oppose them with spirituall weapons, *viz.* Preaching, Writing, Conference, Church censure, *&c.* For in so doing we shall goe against Gods providence and permission, who will have them to be, and that for good ends; and it is in vaine to think thereby to represſe them, since they must needs be.

This permission then, and necessity of them, doth no more exclude the use of the civill Power to restraine them, than of spirituall meanes: And if, notwithstanding the same, there be

place

place left for the Spirituall weapons to repreſſe them, there may be alſo place for the Civill power in right order and manner
Matt. 18.7. againſt them. But what are theſe Offences that Chriſt ſaith muſt needs be? They are not onely Errors, Hereſies, and falſe Religions, but alſo other foule ſins againſt the *ſecond Table*, as Murders, Whoredomes, Theft, *&c.* which as is the corruption of Mans Nature, and the ſtrength of Sathans and the Worlds Temptations cannot be avoided, but doe break forth, and muſt needes doe ſo, and that not without Gods permiſſion. What then? muſt there be a free Toleration of theſe Iniquities? or, muſt Spirituall weapons onely be uſed againſt them to repreſſe them? we ſhould then ſurely have a woful world to live in, which is now too too bad, notwithſtanding all good Lawes againſt them: And if notwithſtanding this neceſſity and Gods permiſſion, Magiſtrates may, yea ought (as herein I preſume you will concurre with us) to make Lawes againſt ſuch enormities, and inflict civill puniſhments on them, the like neceſſity and permiſsion of Hereſies and Errours in Religion, is no ſufficient reaſon againſt the uſe of the civill Power by Lawes and Puniſhments to oppoſe them. There is no
Heb. 9. 27. more force in ſuch a reaſon than becauſe it is *appointed for all men to die once*, and ſo men muſt needs die, Some ſhould argue, that therefore it were not lawfull, or at leaſt it were in vaine to preſcribe rules to preſerve health and life, yea to make lawes againſt murdering men. For, might ſome ſay, To what purpoſe ſerves ſuch adoe? Men muſt needs die, and all theſe rules and lawes will not prevent their death. Nor will the ends for which Errors and Hereſies muſt come, *viz.* to manifeſt the approved, and make truths victory the more notable, conclude for a free toleration of them. For if in that reſpect they muſt be let goe free without controll of the Magiſtrate, neither ſhould they be oppoſed or ſuppreſſed by ſpirituall meanes, as which in the reſtraint of them would hinder the manifeſtation of the Approved, and obſcure the victory of Truth. Beſides, as other foule offences againſt the *ſecond Table* fall out by divine permiſsion, ſo are they permitted amongſt other, even for ſuch ends as errors and offences in Religion are, *viz.* to manifeſt ſuch the more as are juſt, ſober, chaſt and innocent, upon grounds of good conſcience, and to make their righteouſneſſe and innocency the more conſpicuous. And if

all

all such wickednesse were left free without feare of humane punishment, doubtlesse in the midst of such a wicked liberty, the Righteousnesse, Innocency, and honest Conversation of those who did live justly and honestly, would be the more eminent and notable. If there were no punishment for Whoredome, Theft, Drunkennesse, &c. it would make the Chastity, Sobriety, and Justice, of such as kept themselves from those and such like Vices, the more famous and praise-worthy. What you say of the Mystery of Godlinesse, that it rayes out with the most perfect beauty by the cleere discovery of the deepest mystery of Iniquity, may be as truly said, that in such a bad state of things, if it should be, the splendour of true Vertue and Innocency would ray forth with most perfect Beauty, by the discovery of the foulest practise of reigning iniquity. The more freedome there was in *Sodom* for all filthinesse and wickednesse, the more did *Lot*'s righteousnesse and innocency appeare. But yet, woe to those Magistrates, that in their dominions should suffer all wickednesse of that sort to goe unpunished, and not restrain it by just and severe lawes, that forsooth the honesty and righteousnesse of men truly good might be the better tried, and the more manifest. And truly Magistrates will never have comfort in granting a free course to Errours, Heresies, and all wayes in Religion, in their respective Countreys, upon such pretences, that the sound in the Faith may be the more manifest, and Truths conquest the more glorious.

And here I think it not amisse to insert this Observation, that upon search it will be found, that Errors and Heresies did arise more easily, spread more swiftly, continue longer in the first three Centuries after Christ, where the Church wanted the authority of the civill Magistrate to put them down, then afterward when the Emperours had intertained the Christian Faith, in whose times they arose not so often, and were much sooner stayed and repressed by the Edicts and Lawes of Emperours, that were found in the Faith, and did oppose them.

This may appeare by *Danæus* his second Table upon *Augustine*, *De hæresibus*, where he sheweth what Heresies did arise in every century, of which the three first centuries were most fertile, where are reckoned up more than sixty severall Heresies; the

other next three centuries afford not many above forty, and the moſt of them did ariſe and flouriſh under prophane and hereticall Emperours.

Obj. *Truth in a free paſſage may come in, as well as Hereſie.*

Anſw. 1. But Truth ſurely will come in more freely, where the paſſage is ſtopped againſt Error and Hereſie.

2. In ſuch a free paſſage Error and Hereſie in all likelihood would moſt prevaile, as being more ſuitable to our corrupt nature: *Mala herba citò creſcit, A bad weed growes apace.* And naughty weedes will over-run a garden ſooner, if they be not plucked up, than good herbs and flowers repleniſh and adorne it.

3. This makes no more againſt the uſe of the civill power, to repreſſe them, than of ſpirituall meanes, and Church power. For if Truth in ſuch Liberty may come in, as well as Hereſie, why ſhould there any oppoſition be made againſt Hereſie by ſpiritual weapons? and why ſhould not every way as free a liberty be left for one, as for the other?

4. It may as well be alledged againſt all civill Lawes to repreſs any other wickedneſſe: For why ſhould any ſuch Lawes be made, when in a free Liberty for men to live as they liſt, Righteouſneſſe and Vertue may come in, as well as Unrighteouſneſſe, or any other kinde of Vice?

Obj. *Chriſt is as potent to prevaile in Light, as the Prince of darkneſſe in Deluſions.*

Anſw. Muſt we therefore depend upon Chriſts immediate and almighty power, and working without uſe of means for the ſpreading Truth, and reſtraining Hereſies? May we not as well ſay, Why ſhould there be any preaching, any writing, any praying or diſputing againſt Hereſies? Chriſt is potent without ſuch means to prevaile in light. Nay, may we not alſo ſay, Why ſhould any Lawes be made againſt Murder, Whoredome, Theft, Slandering, *&c.* for God is as potent to maintaine Righteouſneſſe, Peace, Chaſtity and Truth, *&c.* in ſuch a liberty, as Satan is to work Unrighteouſneſſe, Uncleanneſſe, Envy, Lying, *&c.* But if it cannot be expected that Chriſt ſhould put forth his power to maintaine ſuch Vertues, where there is ſuch a neglect of meanes, as that no good Lawes are made againſt the foulеſt Vices, ſo ſurely it may be

feared.

feared that Satan will there more prevail with his deluſions in Religion, than Chriſt ſhew himſelf powerfull in maintaining truth, where no good lawes are in force to repreſſe Hereſies or to uphold Divine truth.

Obj. *Truth may thus be ſhut out, and Compulſion hath proved a direct enemy to the Goſpel.*

Anſw. It is true: and ſo hath Preaching, Writing, and Church-cenſures, helped to ſhut out Truth, and been made direct enemies to the Goſpel. But that hath been not in the right uſe of them, by preaching and writing for truth, and juſt cenſuring ſcandalous and erroneous perſons, but by the abuſe of them in turning them againſt the truth and profeſſours of it. And if this coercive power (which in harſh language you delight to call *Compulſion*) exerciſed in matters of Religion, have obſtructed Truth, and been an adverſary to the Goſpel, that miſchief hath not ſprung from the nature of the power which is good and lawfull, but from the abuſe of it by ſeduced and ill-affected Magiſtrates, who have miſimployed it. And it is a groſſe *Paralogiſme*, from the abuſe of any thing, to blemiſh or extinguiſh the right uſe of it. And if you would clear your eyes, and look abroad, you may ſee that it hath oft helped to maintain Truth, and propagate the Goſpel, witneſſe the godly Kings of *Judah*, *who did thereby put down Idolatry in their land, and bring their people back to the true worſhip of God.* Witneſſe the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, *who by it baniſhed Pagan Idolatry, and promoted Chriſtian Religion.* Witneſſe Proteſtant Princes of late in *England*, and other Countreys, *who by it ſuppreſſed Popiſh Idolatry, and ſet up the preaching of the Goſpel, and countenanced the profeſſion of it.* Laſt, *Compulſion of the Civil Power* hath oft been an inſtrument of Tyranny, and exerciſed to hinder juſtice and righteouſneſſe, as *Solomon* ſheweth: And yet indeed it is not ſo eaſily and oft uſed againſt Juſtice, and other duties of the *ſecond Table*, as it is againſt the *Goſpel*; For that there be more principles of civil righteouſneſſe, and care of preſerving peace and mans outward welfare, left in mans nature to direct thereto, and check unrighteouſneſſe, than of Divine truth in Religion, of which there are left but ſome generall notions, that there is a God, and that he is to be worſhipped; but nothing by any ſuch principles doe they know of the particular manner of his

Eccleſ. 3. 16.

his worſhip, much leſſe any thing of the Goſpel. And if notwithſtanding this abuſe of civil power, or compulſion againſt righteouſneſſe and tranquility, commanded in the ſecond Table, it have its right uſe, and that to be allowed about civil matters of that table, there may be a right and lawfull uſe of it in matters of Religion, though by the abuſe thereof, it ſhut out Truth, and be oft an enemy to the Goſpell.

Obj. *To what way doe you ſo eagerly labour to engage the Sword of the Magiſtrate? to your own or to ſome other?*

Anſw. This is nothing but the ſpitting of your rancour: For where doe I mention the *Sword of the Magiſtrate* in my Epiſtle? What are the words that I uſe to engage the Sword of the Magiſtrate againſt any Religion? All that I doe, is but briefly to decipher and complaine of that miſchief that hath come of an univerſall toleration of all Religions, & that not as avowed and allowed by the State, but by you and others cryed up and uſurped.

2. We take not upon us to preſcribe to the Magiſtrate any way in Religion, which he ſhould eſtabliſh, but adviſe him ſpecially to have recourſe to the Word of God, which is a ſure and cleare rule; out of which he may learne by diligent ſearch and prayer, taking alſo the advice of godly and learned Miniſters, what is the good and right way, which he himſelfe ſhould embrace and alſo commend, yea, and command unto his Subjects.

3. As under the Biſhops there was a power practiſed which was tyrannicall, whereof you alſo, as well as other, did complain, ſo now alſo in this multiplicity of religious wayes ſet on foot, ſome courſes muſt needs be erroneous and ſchiſmaticall, in which company you and your party march with the foremoſt.

Obj. *Neither you nor any other ſit in the Chaire of Infallibility, and ſo have no power over the conſcience, which none can have but an unerring Law.*

Anſw. 1. Whence are theſe loud words concerning our Infallibility? Our ſpeech is not of our power, but of the power of the Magiſtrate.

2. If the Magiſtrate may not make lawes in matters of Religion, becauſe he is not infallible in his determinations, upon that account you may as well aboliſh his power about Lawes in civil matters;

matters; For in those he may mistake, though not so oft and foulely as in matters of Religion, and enact things not onely heavy and burthensome unto his people, but also unjust and unrighteous.

3. There is an infallible and unerring rule, viz. the *Word of God*, by which the Magistrate is to be directed in making Lawes: And so farre as he keepe close to that, his determinations are infallible, and to be observed.

4. The matters that he commands in Religion ought to be the manifest precepts of God, or evidently consonant to his Word; and then though as being the command of the Magistrate, they doe not absolutely binde the conscience; yet as Gods Lawes, they have power so to doe. It is then a vaine surmise, to imagine that the Magistrate in making such Lawes, doth encroach upon mens consciences, as binding men by his meere authority unto the observance of them, and that under paine of damnation, when as he doth onely command externall duties of Religion, to which men by Gods Law are bound in conscience: As for example, the sanctifying of the *Lords day*, publique attendance upon the Word, and other natural worship of God, and forbidding what is manifestly forbidden by the Word, the open professing and publishing of Error and Heresies, and making unwarrantable Schisms in the Church, and that onely under some temporal penalties and rewards.

Obj. *Suppose you and others were infallible, yet neither you nor any can create beliefe in the hearts of any that are contrary-minded.*

Answ. This Argument proceeds upon a false supposition, as if it were affirmed, that Magistrates should compell men to believe and repent, and in case they do not, were to punish them, which before hath been declared to be otherwise. The Magistrates power doth not enable him to meddle with those inward and spirituall actions of the soule, but onely to regulate the outward life and conversation.

It is some mervaile to me, that you that are so acute to espy mysteries by others unseene, see not the weaknesse of this and of many your reasons; For it is not in the Magistrates, or any mans power to create in mens hearts the principle of true love to their

their neighbours, nor any of those gracious habits of inward chastity, temperance, meeknesse and contentation, &c. who yet by Laws order some outward actions of those vertues, and forbid the actuall sins contrary to them, as railing, quarrelling, fornication, riotous drinking, theft, &c. And why then in like sort may he not make Lawes about Externall acts of Religion, to enjoyne the exercise of them, and forbid the actuall contrary sins, though he have no power to create and infuse faith it selfe? It is not in vain for Ministers to preach, though they cannot create Faith in the hearts of dissenters; nor for Magistrates to command hearing of the Word, though they can infuse no faith into the heart, the outward meanes are rightly used, where the inward effect can be only wrought by God. As there is no need of the creating any new principle in the heart of man for doing these things wherein the Magistrate doth command, which is onely the abstaining from outward evill acts, as the not venting or openly professing Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies, or the doing of some externall duties, as to joyne in Gods publique worship, heare the Word, and such like. To performe which, that power and freedome, which by nature they have, is sufficient.

Obj. *The Apostles in Church-affairs were of infallible spirit, but yet claimed no such power, but indeavoured to draw men to faith by the cords of love.*

A 1. Here is the same mistake which was noted before, as if it were affirmed, that Magistrates might compell Infidells, or any, to the Faith of the Gospel: As for Church-affairs, and any other matters, I trust you know that there is a wide difference between the Apostles and Church-officers and Magistrates, and the power committed to them both. The power of the first is onely spirituall and ecclesiasticall, and doth allow them no other meanes to reclaime men from Idolatry, Heresie, or any sin, and to win them to the obedience of the Gospel, but spirituall, *viz.* the preaching of the Gospel, and Church censures.

2. But the power of the Magistrate is such, as doth furnish them with authority, to lay commands on men to urge them to what is good, and punishments to reclaime from evil. It is no wonder then that the Apostles would not intrude into a power, which was not given them, which yet Magistrates may use as their proper right.

3. The Apoſtles did not put forth any coactive power againſt the fouleſt ſins of Whoredome, Drunkenneſſe, Theft, &c. to puniſh them with bodily puniſhments, or to urge men to Juſtice, Temperance, Chaſtity, but onely by words and exhortations diſſwaded from ſuch ſins and perſwaded to the contrary vertues. If therefore Magiſtrates may not in Religious affaires goe beyond this practiſe of the Apoſtles in the uſe of their power, neither may they uſe their power for the puniſhment of ſins againſt the ſecond Table, or by lawes encourage to the morall vertues thereof.

Obj. *All humane Weapons can onely force the outward man with a violent and preternaturall motion, &c. which ſoon turns again, when the conſtraint is over.*

A. 1. It is not the proper effect of humane & Magiſtratical commands to force men by a violent motion, but rather tends to move them to a ready & willing obedience: ſuch violent and conſtrained obedience comes not from the command, but from the indiſpoſition of the commanded parties, who are ill affected to right and truth.

2. That motion which is unto good, and from evill, though ſomewhat forced, is more naturall unto man in his right eſtate, and more agreeable to his right end and duty, than a moſt free and willing motion unto ſin and from good.

3. Forced motions are uſed for the common good in other things, and that without blame, and ſo may be here in ſome things, and in the order above preſcribed. The State doth force its Subjects by preſſing, and ſuch like wayes, to ſerve them in their Wars; Servants are oft compelled, will they, nill they, to do their Maſters work; Children to do their duty to their Parents. So by Law-courſes untoward Debtors are conſtrained to pay their debts. Now theſe motions are ſuch violent motions, as here you except againſt, and ſuch as would ſoon ceaſe, if the conſtraint ceaſed. But who complains of any wrong herin done them, ſince the things they be conſtrained to be juſt and equall, and for the common good? And what lets, but that ſome conſtraint with wiſdom and moderation may be uſed in religious matters, ſince it is a thing moſt juſt and righteous, and for the common good, both civill and ſpirituall, that Idolatry and Hereſie be ſuppreſſed, and that the people doe attend the preaching of the Word,

and

and Gods service in praying to, and praysing him?

4. The motion may at first be violent, but afterward become very voluntary; what a doe is there at first to bring a Bullock to the yoke, or a Colt to the saddle? when at length the one willingly comes to the yoak, and drawes in it, and the other as willingly beares the saddle and his rider. It is oft so that a young Scholar for a time is forced to schoole; but being a while entred, and taking some liking of learning, goeth to schoole very freely and willingly. So may it be, and oft is, in these matters we treat of.

But last, This makes as much against all correction of children, and all law-making about matters of the second Table, as against coercive lawes in Religion. For there they force children and men with a violent motion, as much as here: and it utterly impeaches the courses of the godly Kings, *Asa* and *Josiah*, in their reforming of Religion, as taking such courses as could onely force the outward man with a violent and preternaturall motion, who yet are for such their practise praysed in the Scripture.

Obj. *But the Gospel naturally begins with illightening the understanding, then perswading the Will &c. and the summe of the Covenant is to write the Law in the heart.*

Ans. This Argument, as some other before, proceedes upon a false supposition.

1. It surmiseth, That such Magistraticall commands and penalties, by our opinion serve to work inward grace in mens hearts, and for their conversion, when we teach that they are onely to order the outward actions of man.

2. It surmiseth, that they oppose and goe contrary to the work of the Gospel in mens conversion, which is utterly untrue. And the course, which by those that plead for the Magistrates power in this thing, is commended to the Magistrate, is by you wittingly dissembled and concealed, to make their doctrine the more harsh, and to set the fairer glosse upon your large discourse, concerning the order of the Gospels working; therefore to deale fairly, you should have let them know, that we doe not say that the Magistrate's command should goe out alone to force subjection to it, but that there should goe with it all along the preaching of the Word,

Word, and all good meanes of inſtruction, to reclaime from error, and inſtruct in the truth, and perſwade to the obedience of it. It is their minde that men ſhou'd be dealt with as reaſonable creatures, and led by reaſon and perſwaſion, and not as bruit creatures, onely forced with goads and whips.

2. This courſe is far from oppoſing the Goſpel's way, as that it directly tends to further the working of it, that the Lord thereby, according to his Covenant, may write his lawes in his peoples hearts. The end of it (as was ſaid above) is to bring men to the hearing of the Goſpel, and attend upon it; without which it can never work either to the illightening of their underſtanding, or the perſwading of their wills. Moreover, for the Covenant, which is, *That God will write his lawes in the heart*; this writing, no doubt, is meant of the whole Law, that of the ſecond table as well as that of the firſt. What then, may not Magiſtrates make Lawes to regulate mens actions in duties of the ſecond Table, as againſt the foule ſins againſt it, becauſe Gods Covenant is to write theſe in the hearts of his people? And if this writing ſuch lawes in mens hearts, evacuate not the Magiſtrates legiſlative power about ſuch duties, why ſhould it take away the Magiſtrates power to make lawes about Religion, and the duties thereof? The like may be ſaid concerning the Goſpels illightening the minde, and perſwading the will, which concernes not onely the myſteries of the Goſpel, and matters of Religion, but the works and duties of the ſecond Table; to the right performance whereof there is need of the illightening of the minde, and perſwading of the will; about ordering which, yet power is granted to the Magiſtrate. Further, Why goe you not on to urge this farther with Familiſts, and Seekers, and the like, againſt preaching the Word, and ſuch other meanes of edification, as vaine and uſeleſſe, ſince God doth promiſe to write his lawes in his choſens hearts and mindes, without mentioning any ſuch external helps, yea addeth, that they ſhall no more teach one another, ſaying, *Know the Lord, for they ſhall know every one the Lord from the greateſt unto the leaſt of them.* Jer. 31. 33. 34.

Obj. *This was the method the Apoſtle followed*, 2 Corinth. 3. 22.

Anſw. Here is a plaine change of the Queſtion; For the queſtion

stion is not, what method the Apostles and Ministers may and ought to use for inward conversion; but what course Magi-
Chil.7.cent.1. strates may follow in outward matters of Religion, *Aliud est sceptrum*, as he said, *aliud est plectrum*; It is one thing to sway a Scepter, and to carry the temporal Sword, which cutteth the flesh, and another thing to manage onely the sword of the Spirit, *viz.* the Word, and Church-discipline, which onely medleth with mens spirits. Another manner of power for making Lawes and assigning Punishments, is annexed to the temporall sword, than to the spirituall.

2. What answer hath been given to the former Arguments, may serve here, namely, that this course doth not thwart the Apostles method, but doth promote it.

3. That that writing mentioned by the Apostle, which was by the Spirit, and in the fleshly tables of the heart, doth concern the duties of the second table, about which the Apostle makes many exhortations in this and his other Epistles, as well as dutyes in Religion; wherefore the Apostles method excludeth the Magistrates power no more from medling with matters of the first Table than of the second, and permitteth him equall power in them both.

Obj. *You endeavour by a contrary course to constraine the body to what the heart opposeth: And then, if whatsoever be not of Faith, is Sin, your course is contrary to the Gospel-order, and destructive to mens soules.*

Answ. This Argument seemes not to be your *Helena* (as you call an Argument of mine) but your *Achilles*, as a strong Argument is sometimes called *Achilleum argumentum*, as which in this Question seemeth to be of the most force and strength. But I answer, that it is not contrary to the order of the Gospel, nor destructive to mens soules, by civil lawes instruction going along, and being also used to restraine men from Idolatry, and publishing Heresies, or to command them to the necessary and naturall duties of Gods worship, though it be against their minde and perswasions.

For first, The Gospel doth not allow that mens erroneous consciences and perswasions should be their rule or guide in Religion, or any other way, but onely the Word of God.

2. The

2. The Gospel doth no where allow unto men the practise of Idolatry, or the open profession of Errors and Heresies:

3. As Christ hath appointed that his Gospel should be preached to every creature; so all men are bound when and where it is preached, to be ready to heare it. It is therefore more contrary to the Gospel, and more destructive to mens Soules, to suffer them without restraint to continue in Idolatrous worship, and Hereticall wayes, than to restrain and compell them according to the abovesaid order.

Obj. *But whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin, and men may not be compelled to sin.*

Answ. It is true, that whatsoever is not done with a due perswasion, that it is right and lawfull, but against such a perswasion, and with a doubting conscience, is sin to him that shall so doe it, but is not alway so in it selfe, nor to him that shall command the doing of it; but may be a most just and necessary duty, and very justly commanded to be done:

1. There are things meerly indifferent in which to enforce men to practise against their consciences, is against Charity, is a breach of Christian liberty, and an abuse of Magistracy. For there is no breach of any command of God, in doing or not doing such things, and God may be honoured and acknowledged both in his doing or not doing thereof. *Rom.*14 6.

2. There be matters of lesse moment in Religion, and circumstantiall points of Discipline, or so, in which, who so dissent, and carry their dissent in a peaceable and humble way, are much to be born with, and no hard measure is to be put upon them.

3. There are maine and necessary, but externall duties of Religion, negative and affirmative, and some such as oblige all men even by the law of Nature; which to command men to observe and restraine from the contrary evils, though it go against their minds, is no sin in the Magistrate.

For first, The doing of the one, and the neglect of the other, are manifest and palpable sins, are sins *per se*, and in their owne nature. To suffer which would reflect upon the Magistrate, to make him guilty of the sin, who hath power to restrain it and doth not. 1 *Sam.*3.12.

Secondly, The sin that arises upon the doing necessary and main duties,

duties, or not doing, according to the Magistrates command, comes, *ex accidenti*, by accident, not by the nature of the thing commanded, which is not onely good in it selfe, but also a necessary duty; nor by vertue of the command, which commands nothing but a thing manifestly good, and a necessary duty; but by the ill disposition and erroneous perswasion of the person doing or not doing. And if the inforcing of necessary duties must be forborn upon this account, that some sin by accident will ensue thereupon, how can Ministers lawfully call upon men to pray or heare Gods Word, since wicked men in such services will rather by their ill doing of them, offend than please God? Moreover, Magistrates in making lawes about such weighty matters, are not bound to look to particular mens consciences and opinions, but to have an eye to Gods Word commanding or forbidding this or that. Mens opinions and consciences are secret, and not alwayes openly known, Gods Word is open and manifest: Mens Consciences are divers, *quot homines tot sententiæ, so many men so many mindes*; Gods Word is uniforme and the same, Mens Consciences would be a weak and uncertaine rule for him to goe by, Gods Word is sure and certaine: And if Mens Consciences accord not with Lawes in such main and manifest matters, made according to the Word, it is their sin and errour, and in such case the Magistrate ought indeed to take order that they may be instructed and brought to the knowledge of the truth, and so willingly submit unto it. But if notwithstanding they will persist in Idolatrous, Heretical, and openly Schismaticall wayes, such wholsome Lawes must not give place to stubbornly erroneous consciences, but they must submit thereunto, or do justly suffer the appointed penalties.

Further, It is plaine, that in sundry cases men may be compelled to that, in doing which they sin through their own default. It is the duty of Subjects to serve the State in their wars, willingly, and out of love to the publique good; of Servants to serve their Masters willingly and out of love to them; of Debtors to pay their Debts willingly, and out of love to justice. Which things if they doe not, or will not doe, they are justly compelled thereunto, though in doing it there is sin committed by them, in doing that upon force and grudgingly, which should be done by them

them out of love, and with a ready minde. I may yet adde, that this dart, such as it is, may be as well cast against Church censures, as against this coactive exercise of civil Power. For it may easily fall out, that men in the Church, for feare of the censure of the Church, and especially in case of deposition from their Pastorall Office, and so the losse of the maintenance they have thereby, may dissemble their Errours, and subscribe to Truth, even against their conscience: A notable example of it is in some *Arrian Bishops*, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, & *Theognis* of *Nice*, who for fear of losing their Bishopricks, upon the decree of the *Nicene Councel*, against *Arrius* and his Complices in dissembling manner against their conscience subscribed to the decree of that Councel, against that damnable Heresie.

If then no courses may be used upon which men may be driven to act against their consciences, and so sin, neither can Church-censures, nor deposition of Heretical teachers be put in practise, upon which such an inconvenience may ensue.

The conclusion then is, that it is not lawfull to compell any man to doe that which is directly, and in it selfe sinfull; but that a man may be compelled by lawfull authority, without any fault of theirs, to the doing of manifest and necessary duties, though in the doing thereof he sin, and that only by his own default and evil disposition.

Let me yet tell you, that a man doth sin much less in doing a necessary good work, upon command against his misinformed conscience, than in a willing and witting omitting of it. And that whensoever the conscience is awakened, it will more sting for this last than the former, about which we have seldome knowne any to have beene troubled in minde upon doing it: And that the Magistrate must needs sin in suffering such a witting and willing neglect of a manifest necessary duty, but can never be proved to have sinned in commanding and urging men to duties manifestly good and necessary.

Obj. *We read of none in the New Testament who commanded all to worship save the Beast.* Rev. 13.

Answ. 1. We read of none in the New Testament that were punished for Whoredome, Incest, Perjury, False witnesse bearing, Drunkennesse, &c. What then? may not these with your consent

be punished by the civil Magistrate? all the sons of *Belial* would much applaud you for such a toleration of wickednesse, which this your pleading doth as much countenance, as an Universal toleration for Religion.

2. It had been fair play to have written out the whole text, that the command was to worship the Image of the Beast, and receive his mark in their right hand, or in their forehead. *Rev.* 13.15, 16. Such compulsion doubtlesse is detestable. But what is this against compulsion to renounce the Idolatry of the Beast and all other Idolatry, and to worship God in his true worship? To which things we read, that the godly Kings of *Judah*, *Asa*, *Jehosaphat* and *Josiah* compelled their Subjects, to their praise and commendation. The fault is not noted to be simply in the course of compulsion, but in the object of False worship, and open profession of Popery, to which he compelled.

And thus have I cleared our Barque from those dangerous shelves, upon which you made account to wreck us, and have brought it safe to land. Now it followes:

Obj. *It is conceived that you (Presbyterians you mean) are in this a part of the greatest and most deceivable Schisme, that ever came into the world.*

Answ. A foule and lewd reproach, but fit enough for your wide mouth.

Thus indeed the Papists did judge of us, and so doe still, who condemn the reformed Churches of a wicked Schisme, in departing from them, and them most, which went farthest off from them in that, as well in Discipline as in Doctrine, with whom you and yours symbolize in this accusation of us. But as one saith, *Non eadem est sententia tribunalis Christi & anguli susurronum, The Sentence of Christs righteous judgement, and of whisperers in their corners is not all one.*

Next, after some pretty many lines followes a volley of slanderous reproaches, in matching Classicall government with Episcopacy: Whereas that was a Lordly government of one over a whole Diocess; this is onely a brotherly combination of many Ministers and ruling Elders; to manage Church affaires by common consent, and that as much as may be, according to the Word of God.

2. As

2. As if we did take authority to adjudge all beside our selves to be Hereticks, Schismaticks, &c. and did seek by humane force to captivate others to our wills and canons, and were beneath a legall Spirit in dealing worse with others than we would be dealt withall. All which are but the lashings of a netled Jade, that kicks and flings his heeles at randome, at those that are about him.

For first, Who is there of those that I name expressly, that you will have the face to excuse from the blame of an eroneous Sect? Which are *Arminians*, *Antinomians*, *Soule-mortalists*, *Antisabbatarians*, *Seekers* and *Anabaptists*, with rigid irreconcileable *Separatists*? Or where doe I speak of captivating all others to our wills? Our *Independent* Bretheren here you gloze withall, and stroke them; for which yet they have little cause to con you any thank: For in your book you soundly box them. Next followes a blazing of the conscientious Piety and State-Fidelity of your party, and some others, with a plea for an Universal Liberty. To which this is all that I will say, that where those things are found (of which you boast for your selves and others, which is no great modestly) as they deserve their due respect and encouragement, so they may not, nor can serve for a just plea to countenance any errour or erroneous course; nor can challenge any other liberty than will stand with the leave of Gods Word for the Magistrate to grant. And if any laid out their dear lives to purchase this vast Universall Liberty for themselves and others, they spent their lives to no good purpose, and with small comfort to themselves. When we and many other peaceable Christians were under the Prelaticall yoak, what Liberty would have been gratefull to us, appeared by the writings and Petitions of Non-conformists in those dayes, which was an ease from the burden of Subscription, and sundry Ceremonies superstitious, and plainly superfluous, without any endeavour to break off communion in the publique worship of Prayer, Hearing, and Sacraments, wherein they were willing to joyne, much more without pleading for a Toleration for all wayes in Religion, an abomination by them abhorred; or derogating from the Magistrates power to command in matters of Religion, which they did then (as now) unanimously maintain, and your Sect did eagerly oppose. When we are guilty of

Proprio laus sordet in ore.

that,

that calumny which you falsely charge on us, we shall neede your jeering advice: But in the meane while I say with the Poet.

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

Let the straight foot jeere the polt-footed man,
And the faire face the Ethiopian.

To go along with you, after you have smeared your paper with some foule over flowings of your gaule, in charging upon me Fopperies, opprobrious dealings, &c. without instancing any particulars (which is but deceitfull dealing) you schoole me for taxing your way for a Sect and Schisme, and assay to informe me better in the nature of these. A Sect (say you) is a Rent; a Schisme is a cutting off, or dividing from the truth. *Answ.* It is not worth the labour to make much adoe about words; but it will not be amisse to let men see your ignorance in some things, wherein you would seem to be acute. A Sect therefore cannot rightly be Englished a Renting; It comes not from any word that signifies *to rent*, but is derived (as some) either *à secando*, which is to cut, whence is *sectum, secta*, and so *sectu*, is as it were, a part cut off from others, or from the truth, to which they should stick and adhere, by which course there is a dividing into sundry sides, according to that of the Poet;

Dolosè agit qui versatur in generalibus.

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

The inconstant people doe themselves divide
Into contrary parts from side to side.

Or (as others) *à sectando*, which signifies *earnestly to follow*, noting a company which doth stiffly follow some opinion or party, with a resolution to cleave thereto. A Schisme is a Greek word originally, and comes ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίζειν, which signifies to cut, or cleave in two, and as it were divide one from another, and is translated *Mat* 9.16. *Mark* 2.21. *Luke* 5.36. rather a rent than a cutting off, because in an old cloath patched up with a new piece, it is not meant

meant that thereby one piece is cut off from another; but that therein when it is worne out, the breach is made the wider.

2. Nor is it rightly said, that a Schisme is a cutting off, or dividing from the truth, but rather a dividing of mindes and affections between men, and a breaking off from Church-communion between those that agree in the truth of the Gospel. This by Divines is usually laid downe to be the difference between Heresie and Schisme. Heresie stands in the intertaining and stiffe maintaining false and perverse Doctrine; Schisme is the practise of an unlawfull and undue separation from a true Church: One may be an Heretick, and not a Schismatick, as if a man denying some prime Article of Faith, doe yet adhere to a Church confessing the true Faith: And one may be a Schismatick which is not an Heretick, as if a man soundly holding all the articles of the Faith, will not yet communicate with a true Church in Gods publique worship. *Schismaticum facit* (saith another) *communionis disrupta societas*, The breaking off from Church-society and communion doth make one a Schismatick: Of which who is more guilty, you in your way, or we, can be no question; when as you display this course of Separation, as the chief banner of your company, in defiance of all Church-society. It is true as you say, that truth newly springing is often branded with the black *cole* of a Sect and Heresie. And it is also as true, that Error, when it cometh abroad, is wont to disguise it self under a counterfeit habit of Truth, the better to ingratiate her selfe with unwary persons. And from whomsoever you should heare such language touching your way, that it is a Sect or Schisme, it may be playne, but no foul language, to call a Fig a Fig, or a Spade a Spade. Next, for some touches given your company you are shrewdly passionate, and kick and lash very wildly. In *Ovids* Verses taken up by me onely in way of allusion, there is nothing can be found by you but scurrility, ribaldry, and the language of Hell. Alack good man, that a verse or two of witty Poetry should be taken in so ill part by you. But this is nothing but the cynicall arrogance and churlishnesse of your spirit.

The truth is, it was such a pretty picture of your gadding and rambling company, that you could not see it so lively set forth with patience. And if a verse or two out of *Ovid* be the language

of Hell, what language use you, who alledge a verse of his? but I wot to little purpose; in the margent of your Book, pag. 78. *Morte cadunt subitâ per mutua vulnera fratres*: For the scandall of Ribaldry cast in my teeth, it is true that that wanton Poet was faine to excuse his loofer Verses elsewhere used; for which he was justly blamed, with these words;

Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba.

Our writing loose and wanton is,
My life is honest for all this.

But for my part I have not in all my dayes (which are not a few) been upbraided with Ribaldry in speech or writing, untill now by you. And what is the ground of this foule crime? a Distich which I borrowed out of *Ovid*, in which, as he elegantly, and as far from Scurrility and Ribaldry, as you are from Modesty in so charging them, describes the flocking of the *Thebans* after the *Orgia*, as they were called, the worship of *Bacchus* newly brought amongst them; so I by the same set out the rambling of sundry amongst us, after your new-set-up way and course of Religion. Both which courses, as in this flocking of people after them, they doe agree pretty well; so you may know, it is far from my intent for matter to compare the worship you use, wherein is some exercise of the Word, and prayer to God well intended, though the manner and end in the way of Separation, and other wayes, cannot be justified, with the profane and impious *Orgia* of *Bacchus*. But for the Verses, Latine or English, let the chastest *Susanna* read them, and I dare say, neither her chaste eare shall heare, nor eye espy any title that hath the least shew of Ribaldry. And unlesse you can shew plainly in what words this Ribaldry lyes with which you defame me, you doe but proclaime your selfe a foule-mouth'd railer to all understanding men. As for the free doal you make among your hearers, of what you have freely received, if they understood themselves, they have little cause to thank you for it, who for bread cast stones amongst them, that is, intricate matters which they cannot bite or understand; or for wheat give them chaff, that is light and unprofitable

ſtuff to feed upon. And if you mention this your doale to blame the Miniſters, which receive and require due maintenance for their labour. I truſt you know, and will yeild to it, that Chriſt hath ordained, that *they which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel*: And if your free receiving your gifts binde you to a free giving, why doe you not as freely ſpend and beſtow your temporall meanes upon your hearers and followers, which I hope you will acknowledge to be as freely given you, as your ſpirituall gifts? I deſire not to derogate from the pretiouſneſſe of your Saints, if ſo they be: Nor can you with all your painted language excuſe them or your ſelf from that inſtability I charge on them. If *Paul* juſtly charge the *Galatians* with this inconſtancy, that once they did reverence him as an Angel of God, yea as Chriſt Jeſus himſelfe; but afterward, upon their giving eare to falſe Apoſtles, who turned them to another Goſpel, did ſlighe him, yea counted him as an enemy, how can you and many of your company, free your ſelves from the like blame? who not, many yeares ſince, acknowledged our Miniſters the true Miniſters of Chriſt; heard them gladly, followed them earneſtly, confeſſed the ſpirituall good you received by them; but now, not onely forſake them, and, I doubt, againſt your conſciences, diſclaime the comfort and converſion wrought in you by their Miniſtry, but load them with the foulest reproaches you can, as calling them Prieſts of *Baal*, and *Antichriſtian*, &c. What in me is invective language, gaule, vinegar, and cruell gaule of Aſpes, as all theſe you finde in *Ovids* harmleſſe Verſes, had been in you (as you ſpeak in your paper to me) but an abſterſive to cleare up my dimme eye ſight. But whatſoever fault be in my language (of which let the Reader judge) truly it muſt lye upon my ſelfe alone, and not be charged upon any other, who had no hand in it.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

Gal. 4. 14, 15, 16.

But it is as far from any of theſe bitter things, as from Scurrility or Ribaldry: ſome ſalt perhaps there is in them, with which your galled back cannot endure the rubbing. We in our way challenge no Throne or Kingdome to our ſelves (as you ſcoffe) Our deſire and endeavour is onely to ſet up the Kingdome of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which while you ſeek to darken by your foule Errors and Schiſmaticall courſes, we cannot but make it matter of ſadneſſe and griefe unto our hearts: And for your matching us (which is your

yont conſtant courſe) with *Antichriſtians*, and changing us with blaſpheming God with them; let all Chriſtians take notice of your Spirit, and the Lord rebuke you for it. There is no gaule, no vinegar, nor venome of Aſpes in ſuch language, becauſe your.

Concerning your paſſage of outward *Jeruſalem*, figured by *Hagar*, with its application, it doth no more concerne us, than all others, who maintaine ſtated Churches, and oppoſe you as well as we dos in this your new way of meere ſeparation.

2. To anſwer more particularly, there are Externalities of divers ſorts.

1. Such as are meerely legall, and are by Chriſt aboliſhed. It was the *Jewes* of that outward *Jeruſalem*, ſtiff ſtanding on theſe in *Paul's* dayes, and that as ſtill to be continued, and as neceſſary to Salvation, that made them ſuch enemies to thoſe that walked in a free Goſpel-walk, free, not I ween (as you ſeem to intimate) from all externalities, but from thoſe legall ones, and as urged by the falſe Apoſtles.

2. Such as are groſly Idolatrous and Superſtitious, as moſt among the Papiſts.

3. Such as are meerely humane, and of mans invention. And it is ſo commonly, that ſuch as ſtand rigidly on thoſe externalities, prove enemies to ſuch as deſire to walk in a Goſpel-liberty.

4 There are externalities that are of Divine Inſtitution, as conſtitution of viſible Churches, officiall Miniſtry, Sacraments to be duly adminiſtred, Church-cenſures, upon which to ſtand rigidly is no faule, nor any counterfeit holineſſe. It is onely to ſtand upon Chriſt his order and ordinances. And the Primitive Chriſtians walked not in any freedome from theſe, but in a willing ſubjection to them.

And if you now, or any other, in your courſe of ſeparation, ſhake off theſe Externalities, as you terme them, of Chriſts Inſtitution, they are not children of a Chriſtian, but of a carnall and licentious liberty: and their aime at Spirituality is meerely counterfeit and deceitfull. For the outward Court rejected, *Revel.* 11.2. it is not (as you would have it underſtood) the outward ſtate of viſible Churches among Proteſtants, but the viſible and

outward

outward ſtate of the Romiſh Church, as hereafter ſhall be more fully cleared; which is indeed a Mother that doth enſlave her Children.

Now toward the end, ſomewhat you have a mind to ſay about your firſt Letter; where firſt, for the report given out about your Letter, and my not coming to conference with you, I have given ſome anſwer in the beginning of my Reply. The other matters about ſome miſtakes in ſome words and quotations; there is no ſuch wrong done as needs any expoſtulation on either ſide. For there is no advantage taken upon any ſuch matter to the prejudice of either cauſe. And if it ſhould be done on either ſide, it would prove but a cavill, and redound to his diſcredit who ſhould make it. If ſome places of Scripture by you alledged, were omitted by me, for haſt or by over-ſight, you know that you had an anſwer to them from another reverend man by my procurement, which I ſent to you, though you pleaſed to take no notice of it; and I ſhall, I truſt, God aſſiſting, give anſwer to them all in due time.

But now for a Concluſion, There is a capitall crime, or ſome deep plot charged on me: Your Book, ſay you, is not dated at the beginning according to the uſuall manner. At the end of your Epiſtle it beares date *Auguſt* the 18. now it came not out untill *December*, neere four moneths after: whether this be double dealing, to make the Reader believe that we were tardy in our Reply, is beſt knowne to your owne conſcience: *Anſw.* It is wonder that here you did not make a *O yes*, and as he call out, *Hearken O people every one of you.* Here is, no doubt, a weighty matter to cavill at, and to charge upon a mans conſcience, as if I were by when the book was in printing, and gave any order about its dating: It is dated as all other books be in the beginning and as your own noting, the party for whom it was printed, and the yeare when it was printed, though not the moneth, nor day of the moneth, which is is not uſually noted. 2. The long diſtance between the date of the Epiſtle and the Books coming forth may ſhew indeed (and that is the plaine truth) that it was long ere I could prevaile with the Stationer to undertake the printing of it, and the ſlow going on of the Preſs. 1 Kings 22.28.

But it ſeemes that you are very jealous of your credit, and

would have the world take notice of your ability and readineſſe to write and anſwer: In which point I ſhall not contend with you. I did in my book, toward the end, acknowledge, and ſtill doe, that I am but of a dull apprehenſion, and ſlow motion, and now ſomewhat the ſlower by reaſon of my age, having fulfilled the 77. years of this mortall race. You, for me, ſhall goe away with the praiſe of this ſwiftneſſe. It ſhall ſuffice me, if after ſome p'odding and longer deliberation, I can at length finde out the truth. In which caſe yet I wiſh you to take notice of the Proverb, that *Tardus aliquando celerem aſſequitur*, *He that is but ſlow, may at length overtake the more ſwift of foot.*

I will conclude with a ſtory of *Melanchon*, who in a diſputation with *Erriſus*, a Popiſh Sophiſter, being urged with a ſubtile argument from him, after ſome demur about it, ſaid, I will anſwer it to morrow. Oh (ſaith *Erriſus*) this is not for your credit, if you cannot anſwer *extempore*, out of hand, and preſently. To whom *Melanchon* did reply, O good Doctor, I do not ſeek mine owne credit in this buſineſſe, but the truth: To morrow you ſhall heare me. Thus I had rather ſuffer in my credit for dulneſs, than prejudice the truth by my too haſty ſwiftneſs:

Qui dicit quæ vult, audiet quæ non vult,

Whoſe humour is to ſpeak what he doth pleaſe,
Shall hear what will afford him little eaſe.

A briefe and solid Exercitation concerning the Coercive Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion, by a reverend and learned Minister, Mr. George Petter, *deceased, lately of* Bread *in* Sussex.

Qu. *WHether the Civil Magistrate by his authority may compell men to doe any thing against their conscience in matters of Religion, or in the worship of God, as, to come to Church and there to heare the Word preached.*

Answ. The Magistrate being ordained of God to be *custos utriusque tabulæ*, both may and ought to use his authority, in compelling those under his jurisdiction to the due performance of all externall religious duties commanded of God, and required in the first table of the morall Law.

1. But *Rom.* 13 4. He is the Minister of God for the good of his Subjects, that is, to procure and provide for their good and welfare. Now the chief good of his Subjects is their spirituall good, the good of their soules: and how doth he provide for this, if he suffer them to neglect and omit the duties of Gods worship, and the ordinary meanes of their salvation, and doe not compell them to perform and to use the same?

2. But 1 *Tim* 2.2. One end for which we are commanded to pray for those that are in authority, is this, that we may under them, and by their meanes, lead our lives in all godlinesse. Whence it followes, that it is the Magistrates duty by his authority, to provide that Subjects may live under him in all godliness. And how can he be said to do this, if he do not by his power take order that they may duly performe the maine duties of piety commanded by God?

3. That from the example and practise of some of the religious Kings of *Juda*, 2 Chron. 34.31. *Josiah* made a Covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandements, &c. and he caused all in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to it. So 2 *Chro.* 15.

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the like Covenant, by the authority of *Asa*, was made by his people, ver. 12. *They entred into a covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, &c. and that whosoever would not seek the Lord, &c. should be put to death*, &c. This was a compulsion in an high degree.

4. That, If a Master of a Family may and ought to compell his Family, yea and Strangers too, coming or being in his house, to the outward sanctifying of the Sabbath, at least to keep them from prophaning it, as appeares by the Fourth Commandement: then may a Magistrate do the like, according as is read of, and commanded in *Nehemiah*, cap. 13 15 16, &c.

1. Obj. *If the Magistrate compell his Subjects to doe things against their consciences or which they in their consciences are perswaded to be unlawfull for them to doe, then he compells them to sin.*

Answ. Here it is to be considered, from whence this perswasion in the Subject doth proceed; If from an ignorant and weak conscience, as in such as have not had the meanes, or no sufficient meanes to teach them, and informe their consciences right touching the lawfulnesse of the things enjoyned, then I think such persons are not to be compelled to such things, till they have beene first conferred withal, & better instructed & informed of the lawfulnesse of those things injoyned by such as may be presumed better able to informe them, than they can inform themselves: Yet here this caution is to be added, that when such dutyes of Religion are enjoyned by authority of the Magistrate, such ignorant or weak persons are not rashly, or of their owne heads, to withdraw their obedience by refusing to conforme to the dutyes enjoyned, but they are first in all modest and humble manner (and that speedily) to propound their doubts and reasons of their refusall, and to desire satisfaction therein, from such as are in authority.

2. If on the other side the foresaid perswasion doe proceed from an obstinate conscience, as those that have had the meanes of teaching, and have been sufficiently convinced of the lawfulnesse of the things enjoyned by authority of the Magistrate, and yet doe obstinately persist in refusing to doe them, then the Magistrate compelling them to outward conformity in doing the dutyes enjoyned doth not compell them to sin, but useth the meanes to reforme sin in them, by punishing them for their obsti-

nacy,

ncy, thereby to reclaime them from it, and from their contempt and neglect of Gods ordinances.

Now this the Magistrate may and ought to doe: For *Rom.* 13. it is said, *He beareth not the sword in vaine*, and is therewith to punish evil doers; but surely they are evil doers, who do wilfully, even against the light of their Consciences, refuse to be conformable in such dutyes of Religion and Gods worship as are enjoyned by the Magistrate: These are αὐτοκατάκριτοι, selfe-condemned persons, *Titus* 3.11. The Magistrate in this case doth not cause such to sin, *Nisi per accidens*; *vide* Pet. Mart. loc. com. clas. 2. c. 2.

Obj. *Faith and Religion are not to be forced, but to be freely and voluntarily taken up and embraced, according to that of* Tertullian, ad Scap. cap. 2. Nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi. *It is not according to Religion to compell men to Religion, which ought freely to be taken up, and not per force; And that of* Lactant. Institut. lib. 5 cap. 20. Religio cogi non potest, verbis potius quam verberibus res agenda est. *Religion cannot be forced; the matter is to be effected by words rather than by stripes. To such purpose* Amb lib. 5. Ep. 30.

Answ. To compell men to conformity in outward exercises of Religion and of Gods worship, is not to force them to believe or embrace Religion, but onely to compell them to the externall use of Gods Ordinances, which are the meanes to work Faith and Religion in them, and to move them in time (if it be possible) voluntarily to believe and embrace true Religion.

2. As for those places of *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, and *Lactantius*, That Compulsion that they speak of, is of Christians toward Heathen, or of Heathen toward Christians (as may plainly appeare by peruling the places) and not of the Christian Magistrates compelling of Christians under his Dominion to the outward exercise of Religion and Gods worship established. It is one thing for the Heathen Emperours, or their Deputies, to compell Christians to embrace Paganism; or for Christian Magistrates to compell the Heathen (who have been brought up in Paganism, and never had yet the meanes to instruct them in Christian Religion) to believe and embrace Christianity before they

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have had sufficient instruction therein: And another thing for Christian Magistrates to urge, and compell such subjects as have been brought up and instructed in the Christian Religion, to outward conformity in the publick worship of God, established by lawfull Authority.

Obj. *This is the way to make men Hypocrites, when they are compelled to the outward worship of God, wanting in the meane time inward Piety.*

Answ. The scope of the Christian Magistrate, in using such compulsion, is not to make men Hypocrites; but by this meanes to move them to doe that afterward willingly, which for the present they doe by compulsion, as *Austin* saith of the Christians in *Hippo* (where he was Bishop) That they at first taking part with *Donatus* and his Faction, were after moved by the severe Lawes of Christian Emperours, reigning in those times against the *Donatists*, to forsake *Donatus* and his followers, and to embrace the *Catholique Doctrine* of the *Church*, and so in other cities also. See *Aug. Tom.* 2. *Epist.* 48. where he doth at large handle this question touching the Magistrates power in punishing Hereticks: Of which Epistle of *Austin*, *Zanchy* sayes that it is *Insignis epistola, sed prolixa*, a notable Epistle, but very long. See also the same *Austin*, *Tom.* 7. *Operum contra epistolas Petiliani Donatistæ*, lib. 2. cap. 28. &c. 84. and also in his 50 Epistle, in which places he treats of this question touching the Magistrates power in punishing Hereticks. In the former of those places, whereas *Petilian* complains of the Emperours forcing the Donatists to the Catholick Faith by persecution, *Austin* makes this answer to him, *Non persequimur vos, nisi quemadmodum veritas persequitur falsitatem*, &c. We persecute you no otherwise, but as Truth doth persecute Falsehood. And againe, whereas *Petilian* boasted that the Donatists did not compell any to the Faith; *Austin* answers thus, *Ad fidem quidem nullus est cogendus invitus sed perseveritatē, imo per misericordiam Dei, tribulationum flagellis solet perfidia castigari. Num quid quia mores optimi libertate voluntatis eliguntur, ideo mores pessimi non legis integritate puniuntur? Sed tamen male vivendi ultrix, disciplina præpostera est, nisi quum præcedens belle vivendi doctrina contemnitur*, that is, No man truly is to be compelled to the Faith against his will, but through the severity, yea through

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the mercy of God, perfidiousnesse is wont to be chastized with the scourge of tribulation. What I pray, because good manners are chosen by a free good-will, shall not therefore bad manners be punished by sound and wholsome lawes? Notwithstanding that Discipline, which is the revenger of evill living, is preposterous, unless when the precedent instruction of well-living is despised. To which may be added that of *Austin* contra epist. Gaudentii Donatistæ, lib. 2. cap. 17. *Quod vobis (Donatistis) videtur invitos ad veritatem non esse cogendos, errantis nescientes scripturas & virtutem Dei, qui eos volentes facit dum coguntur invitos.* Whereas it seems to you Donatists, that none are to be compelled to the truth against their will, you erre not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God, who maketh men willing while they be enforced against their will. *Zanchy* in a *præceptum. cap.* 15. *de imaginibus*, Thes. 4. handles this question, where thus he expresseth the sum of what he holds concerning it; *Augustini sententiam sequor, Pium magistratum posse pro authoritate sibi a Deo tradita, & vere etiam si viderit se posse sua authoritate ad ecclesiæ ædificationem uti, ex officio debere subditos suos a malo ad bonum & a superstitionibus ad verum cultum cogere, tempore tamen commodo & modo ad finem consequendum utili prudenter observato*, that is, I follow the sentence of *Austin*, That the godly Magistrate may according to that authority given him of God; and truly also, if he shall see that he can use his authority to the edification of the Church, that he ought, out of duty, to compell his Subjects from Evill to Good, and from Superstitions to Gods true Worship; notwithstanding wisely observing a convenient time, and such a manner as shall be profitable to obtaine his end. This Assertion he farther explaines, and proves more at large: In one case he holds that the Magistrate is to forbeare this coaction, at least for a time, *viz. Si aperte viderit res taliter se habere ne si sua simpliciter velit uti authoritate omnia casura sint omnia in pejus & in totius ecclesiæ eversionem superstruendum fuerit atque in aliud tempus differendum negotium, &c. Tunc certe retinere debet gladium in vagina, & curandum est ut gladio domitæ sint Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei — potiantur ex animis errores, &c.* — Permit him *Austin's* counsell of superseding excommunications in *Africa* adversus obstinatos, qui tunc omnes fere tales essent, excommunicari non poterant

poterant nisi tota Ecclesia dissiparetur. Then *Zanchy* addes, *Sunt tamen quædam mala tam gravia, ut graviora contingere non possint, ut publicæ blasphemiæ in Filium Dei, publicæ Idololatriæ, &c. Ad hæc certe connivere nullo modo potest aut debet pius magistratus, etiamsi ruat mundus:* That is, If he plainly see things to be in such a condition, as if he should absolutely use his authority, that all things certainly would become worse, and turn to the overthrow of the whole Church; there must be a forbearing, and the businesse is to be deferred unto another time.— Then surely he ought to keep his sword in the scabbard, and to take care that errors should be removed out of mens minds onely by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.— Hitherto appertaineth *Austin's* counsel about the forbearing — of excommunication in *Africa*, against Drunkards, who when almost all were so, could not be excommunicated, unlesse the whole Church were dissipated. Notwithstanding some evils are so heinous, that worse cannot happen, as publique blasphemies against the Son of God, publick Idolatry, &c. Certainly the godly Magistrate by no meanes can or ought to connive at these evils, although the whole world should fall on his head.

Bucan loc. com. 49. quest. 33. *An Magistratus debet cogere quenquam ad credendum?*

Resp. *Non potest indere fidem aut cogere mentem, sed cogere locomotivam ut audiat veram doctrinam, & media quibus excitatur fides promovere debet,* &c.

Quest. Whether the Magistrate ought to compell any man to believe?

Answ. He cannot put faith into any, nor constraine the minde, but he can force the *loco-motive* faculty, that a man may hear true Doctrine; and he ought to promote all meanes by which Faith is excited and stirred up.

Alsted. cas. conscient. cap. 17. cas. 8. *Princeps tuta conscientia potest in ditione sua permittere liberam religionem, non quidem ita ut impune quisque colat Deum arbitratu suo; sed ut bonum autonomiæ, sive libertas conscientiæ concedatur iis, qui in fundamento salutis conveniunt, & non nisi circa ritus & leviores quasdam quæstiones in negotio religionis dissentant. Sane si potest hoc efficere citra pacis publicæ perturbationem, ut omnes & singuli subditi eandem religionis*

gionis formulam amplexentur, utique nihildebet facere reliquum ad summam diligentiam hoc ut obtineat, verum quia sæpenum eroqui unitatem religionis in rempub. introducere conantur funditus evertunt rempublicam, & unitatem civilem scindunt, non temere princeps hic quicquam audebit; A Prince may with a safe conscience permit Religion to be free in his Dominion, not so indeed that every man without punishment, may worship God according to his pleasure; but that the benefit of Autonomy, or liberty of Conscience, or a Self-law, may be granted unto them, which agree in the foundation of Salvation, and differ not in the businesse of Religion, but about some rites and certaine lighter questions: certainly if he could effect it conveniently, without the disturbance of the publick Peace, that all and every one of his Subjects should embrace the same form of Religion; truly he ought to leave nothing unassayed unto his utmost diligence, that he might obtain it. But because often-times they that endeavour to bring into the Common-wealth the unity of Religion, do utterly overthrow the civil Unity: A Prince will not rashly dare to attempt any thing in this matter. But *Beza* is more strict in this matter, whose words in his Book *de puniendis hæreticis*, are these, pag. 143. *Magistratûs officium est, vel externa pacis jacturâ, si aliter non potest, verum Dei cultum in suâ ditione, redimere*; It is the duty of the Magistrate (if it cannot otherwise be done) to purchase in his Dominion the true worship of God, even with the losse of outward peace. *Wolfangus Capito*, in a Book written by him, *de jure magistratûs in religione*, hath these words, as they are cited by *Beza* in his Treatise *de Hæreticis à Magistratu puniendis*, p. 149. *Pius princeps populum pro virili ad verbum Dei audiendum & ad hoc ut vitâ & moribus illud exprimat, adiget severâ authoritate, hoc est animadversione legitimâ*; A godly Prince will, according to his power, enforce his people to hear the Word of God; and to this also, that they expresse the same in life and manners, with severe authority, that is, by lawfull punishment. Mr. *Perkins* in his Treatise of Callings, *Tom.* 1. *operum*, pag. 741. writeth thus, *That the duty of Magistrates wherein they do commonly faile, is this, that they use not the Sword for this end, to urge men to the keeping of the Commandements of the first Table, to a practise of pure Religion, and to the keeping of the Sabbath day.* This is the duty of the Magistrate,

who beares the sword, especially for the good of mens soules. See also Dr. Cudworth's Commentary upon Gal. cap. 6. printed with Mr. Perkins Comment on the five first chapters of that Epistle, as a Supplement to it, where (upon the 12 verse of that 6 chapter) this question is propounded and answered.

Magistratus legum severitate retinebit populum in ordine — quod ad auditum verbi, orationis communicationem, sacrificium laudis, & Sacramentorum celebrationem incunctanter ac religiosè frequentet — vigore legum & virgâ disciplinæ animadvertet in mores subditorum omnium — coercebitque non solum adulteria, scortationes, ebrietatem, furta — quod & Ethnici Magistratus faciunt, sed & impietatem, blasphemiam, hæreses, sacrilegia, Ecclesiæ contemptum ac desertionem. Mulculus loc. comm. de Magistratu, pag. 431, & 432. The Magistrate by the severity of his lawes, ought to keep his people in order, so far as that they do frequent diligently and religiously the hearing of the Word, joyning in Prayer, the offering of Prayse, and the celebration of the Sacraments — he ought to correct the manners of all his Subjects, by the vigour of his Laws, and rod of Discipline, and he shall restrain not only Adulteries, Whoredoms, Drunkennesse, Thefts — which Heathen Magistrates also do; but also Impiety, Blasphemy, Heresies, Sacriledge, the contempt and forsaking of the Church.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Mr

Mr. *John Cotton's* Animadverſions upon Mr. *Henden's* Letter to Mr. *Elmeſton*, heretofore printed & publiſhed in his Book to Mr. *Henden*.

Mr. John Cotton's *Letter to Mr.* Elmeſton, *ſent with the following Animadverſions.*

Reverend and dear Sir,

IT is indeed a buſie ſeaſon with me to return due anſwer to ſundry Friends, who expect the ſame by this veſſell. But becauſe your Letter is not onely yours, but a voice from the Lord Jeſus, in which he calleth me to beare witneſſe to the truth (for which end he came himſelf into the world, John 18.37. and ſent his ſervants) I durſt not omit this firſt opportunity of returning anſwer to the ſcruples which your Letter enclоſed. If when you have peruſed the ſame, your judgements concur therein, you may pleaſe to communicate them to your Chriſtian friend: If otherwiſe, reſerve them by your ſelfe. Be intreated to accept the labour of my love from your fellow-ſervant, and ceaſe not to pray for me, whoſe buſineſſes are more than my dayes. The Lord Jeſus be ſtill the ſtuff of your age, and perfect his work in your heart and hand, till he tranſlate you to his heavenly Kingdome in Chriſt Jeſus. In whom with hearty ſalutes to you and Mrs. Denly, I take leave, and reſt,

Boſton the 18. of the eighth moneth. 1651.

Yours in Brotherly love unfeigned,

JOHN COTTON.

My

My Letter to Mr. *Henden*, when as I sent him a Copy of Mr. *Cotton's* Animadversions.

Good Mr. *Henden*,

SUch was my desire to be satisfied about your new Way and Principles, and to inform your self and followers about them, that I sent your Letter wrote to me to Mr. Cotton *to* New-England, *and by Letter requested his judgement thereupon. In which thing, according to his courteous disposition, and desire to give witnesse to the truth; he hath condescended to me, and sent me in writing his censure upon your Letter; which I received but the last Saturday, and having transcribed a Copy of it, have here sent it to you for you and your Disciples to peruse, and thence to receive better information about your course. It may be, that truth commended to you from a place so remote, and from so learned and godly a man, will sooner be embraced than coming from a neighbour and ordinary friend, as commodities brought from far Countreys, as* China, *or so, are of more esteem with curious Gentlewomen, than what are home-bred, according to our English Proverb,* Far fetcht and dearely bought is good for Ladies. *There was, you see, a mistake in your quotation of* Isa. 65. *for* 56. *which I observed not but upon the receit of your last; upon which occasion I could say nothing to it; and Mr.* Cotton *here doth somewhat misse of your meaning. What now I send you in writing, I shall shortly make more publique by printing. And if notwithstanding all this, you will wander still, and mislead others, I can say nothing but what he did;* Si vult hic populus decipi, decipiatur; *If this people will be deceived, let them be deceived; for who can hinder them that will not be undeceived? So I rest,*

Decemb. 20. 1651.

Your loving Friend,

IO. ELMESTON.

Certaine

Certaine Errors noted in the Letter sent to you from a Christian Friend, whereof you desired my judgement.

THat the foundation of the Beast consisted in an usurped power of Church-Discipline, footed upon man and his will without the call of God. Error 1.

If the Beast be Antichrist, then he is contrary to Christ in all his anoyntments, by which he is Christ. Now Christ is the Anoynted, not onely King of his Church, but anoynted Priest, and anoynted Prophet also.

The Beast is Antichrist, therefore not onely usurping a Kingly power over the Church, in Church-Discipline, but also in usurping the anoynted Priesthood, in suborning to us other propitiatory and meritorious Sacrifices for Sin, and other Mediators of Redemption, as likewise in usurping the office of the anoynted Prophet, in giving us *Apocrypha-rules* of Faith, and advancing himselfe to be Judge of Controversies. *Answ.*

The call of God in our time is onely for Separation and Rewarding, to wit, rewarding evil upon Antichristians. Error 2.

The Scripture acknowledgeth no calling onely for Separation and rewarding Evil (both which are but detestations of sin) but requireth also the practise of the contrary vertues. *Beloved* (saith John) *follow not that which is evil, but that which is good*, 3 John ver. 11. *Depart from evil* (saith David) *and do good*, Psal. 34. 14. *Cease to do evil* (saith Isaiah) *and learne to do Well*, Isa. 1. 16, 17. There is no commandment of God fulfilled submitting to the Negative part only (in forbearing what is forbidden) without performing the Affirmative also, doing what is commanded. The second Commandement is not fulfilled in abandoning or punishing Humane or Antichristian inventions, without establishing and observing Christs own Institutions. *Answ.*

The places of Scripture alledged to prove that all the Calls of God in our times, are for Separation and Rewarding, are misinterpreted, and mis-applied: In *Rev.* 18. 4. the very phrase of coming out of *Babel*, implieth not onely a *terminus a quo*, the place from

from whence they ſhould come, but *Terminus ad quem*, as *Rev.* 12.12. (a time contemporary to the other) come up hither, to wit, into an heavenly and pure eſtate. That place *Rev.* 15.8. doth not argue that there were no viſible Churches, nor Members in them, till all the *ſeven Vials* were powred forth on the Antichriſtian ſtate, but the contrary rather. For all the ſeven Angels, that is, all the Inſtruments and Miniſters of Gods wrath, againſt the Beaſt, came out of the Temple, and ſuch a Temple it was, as was opened, that is, was viſible, *cap.* 15.5. and therefore there was a viſible Church-ſtate, before the powring out of any of the Viale. As for that which is ſaid, *No man was able to enter into the Temple till the ſeven Plagues of the ſeven Angels were fulfilled*, It is not underſtood of Chriſtians (who were in the Temple before) but of Pagan Nations, whoſe converſion is retarded by the ſmoke of Gods wrath againſt Antichriſtians; which yet, nevertheleſs, hindereth not the converſion of a Sprinkling of ſome *Jewes* and *Pagans*, but onely any large or numerous converſion of them. The places in *Rev.* 19.7,8,9. and *Iſa.* 62.5. do expreſſly ſpeak of the converſion of the Jews unto Chriſt in a Church Eſtate: And their Eſpouſage or Marriage to Chriſt doth not argue his divorce from the Gentiles, for the coming of the Jews will not infer a rejection of the Gentiles, but rather their reſurrection and provocation to farther zeale, *Rom.* 11.12.15. Much leſſe will theſe places argue, that there is no viſible Church-martiage from the *Apoſtacy*, till this time of the *converſion of the Jewes*. For beſide what hath been ſaid of the open and viſible eſtate of theſe Churches, out of which the ſeven Angels came, it is evident, that during all the time of Antichriſt's reign, the woman and her ſeed were nouriſhed in the wilderneſſe, and there perſecuted of the Dragon, and his Vicegerent the Beaſt. *Rev.* 12.14. to 17. Now the Woman is the Church, and the Seed her Members; and their Wilderneſſe-eſtate doth not argue them inviſible; For the Church of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſſe was viſible and goodly, even in the eyes of Pagans, (*Numb.* 23.9. and 24.5.) yea ſo viſible were they, that the Dragon and Beaſt could ſee them, and perſecute them, yea and make war againſt them. *Rev.* 13.7. The two witneſſes are ſaid to be two *Candleſticks*. *Rev.* 11.4. and *Allegoricall Candleſticks* are ever in *St. Johns* Divinity taken for *viſible Churches*.

chet. In the *Canticles* before the returne of the *Shulamite* (that is before the coversion of the *Jews*) *Cant.* 6.13. there were fixty *Queenes* and eighty *Concubines*; besides one precious *Spouse* above them all, *Cant.*6.8,9. Now *Queenes* are *Churches* in Marriage-covenant.

The Scriptures alledged for the restraint of the Spirit from breathing on Churches and Ordinances after the Primitve times, doe not argue an Abolition or Cessation of all Churches and Ordinances, but at most a corruption and pollution onely of the most of them, when yet in some Churches the Ordinances were preserved in due purity, that the Saints walked in them as Virgins, in whom was found no guile nor fault, *Rev.* 14.4,5. The onely Text that seemeth to look a contrary way, *Rev.* 7.1. doth rather beare witnesse to this truth: For the *four Angels* that restrained the *four Winds* from breathing on the Earth, Sea, and Trees, they did not execute that charge untill a stronger Angell than they had sealed all the Servants of God in their foreheads, even twelve times twelve thousand, *ver.* 2. to 8. which argueth, that all the times of the Antichristian Apostacy (though it lasted twelve centuries of years and somewhat upwards, *Rev.* 11.3.) yet there never wanted in any century, at least, twelve thousand that worshipped the Lamb in spirit and truth, by the vertue of the spirit breathing on them in their Church-fellowship, as there wanted not 7000. breathed on by a still, small, soft voyce in the soreſt Tyranny of *Jezabel*, and deepest Apostacy of *Israel*. Nor doe the places quoted for the returning of the breathing of the spirit at the brightnesse of Christs coming, speak of Christs future coming, but of the coming past and present, save onely that of *Ezek.*37.9. which apparently speaketh of the *Jewes*, and the Spirit breathing on them in their future conversion, and not of *Christians*. That of *Isaiah* 32.15. is most fitly accomplished in *Christs* first coming; as likewise that of *Ps.*97.4. That other place of *Mat.* 24.27,28. sheweth onely that the Gospel shall shine forth from the East to the West, as from Christs time to this it hath ever done; the Gospel still spreading it selfe westward unto this day. In all which time, if any enquire where *Christ* is, he telleth you, *wheresoever the Eagles* (that is, the clear-sighted, and high-soaring spirited Christians) *are gathered together*, ver.28.

Error 3: The third Error discovereth in his distinction of Gospel-ordinances, and his explication and application thereof: *We conceive*, saith he, *that Gospel-ordinances are of two sorts*; 1. *Such as are founded more immediately upon our spirituall Union in the Covenant of Grace, as Ministry, Baptisme, the Lords Supper, Prayer, Profession.* 2. *Such as are footed upon Church-stating, and appertaine to the officials, as Ordination, Confirmation, Excommunication, Admission, Absolution, &c. The first of these we say the Gates of Hell never prevaile against them as Teaching, Baptisme, Bread, Wine, Prayer, Profession &c. But the second sorte to wit; the keyes (deemed essentiall to officials) were not alwayes truly used, &c.*

Answ: This Distinction and the Explication and Application thereof, is not sound nor convenient. 1. Ministry, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, are essentiall to Officials, and more essentiall too, than Admission, Excommunication, Confirmation, Absolution: For these may all of them be dispensed by an *Homogeneal Church* without *Officers*. But Ministry, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, cannot be dispensed without Officers. Christ sent forth none to administer Baptisme and the Lords Supper, but such Officers as he sent forth for the Ministry of the Gospel. 2. The Gates of Hell prevailed as much against Teaching, Baptisme, Bread, and Wine, Prayer, and Profession, as against the power of the Keyes: For as the Keyes were not alwayes truly used, so neither were any of the rest. Teaching was corrupted with many fundamentall Heresies and Errors; Baptisme with many superstitious Ceremonies and undue Power; The Bread transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, and the Wine into the Blood, and both transformed into a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead; the Wine also taken from the People; Prayer was perverted into the Idolatrous worship of Angels, Saints, Images, and publickly offered in a strange tongue: And profession of Christianity degenerated into the profession and practise of Antichristian Idolatry and Superstition. Greater abuses than these have not prevailed upon the Keyes. True it is that the former sort of these were sooner purged from sundry grosse Pollutions, than the exercise of the Keyes. But two things would be considered:

1. That as all the former Pollutions were not brought into the Church and Ordinances at once, so neither were they purged out

at once, but by degrees. And why may we not perceive the Keyes to be at length purged and scoured, aswell as all the former?

2. It can never be proved that in the darkest times of the Antichristian Apostacy, the Ordinances of Christ were any of them wholly poluted in all the Churches, no not the power of the Keyes. For the promise of building the Church upon a Rock, against which *the gates of hell should not prevaile*, was given to such a Church, as to whom the power of the Keyes was given expressly, *Mat.*16.18,19. I know not what place (there was a mistake in the Letter, quoting *Isa.*65. for 56. which is the cause that Mr. *Cotton's* answer is not punctuall to that allegation) the Author alludeth to, when he saith the name (of the Keyes) was foreprophecied to be everlasting, yet the hand or keyes, held forth by the hand in the interpreted place, is not so specified, *Isa.*66.5. but was wholly resolved in the Pope, &c. which is as unsafe as the former. For in that place, *Mat.* 16.19. where the Keyes are promised, the power and efficacy of them is given also. *To thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven* (there is the name) *and whatsoever thou shalt binde on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*; there is the power and efficacy of the Keyes; which though the Pope and his Ministers perverted and abused, yea, and exercised another Key, which he received from the bottomlesse pit; yet it is very unsafely said, *That the power of the keyes was wholly resolved in the Pope, and that there was no other face of Officials, but amongst the Papists in* Luthers *time, and that the visible Church, the foundation of these failed, and onely an elect sealed number remained.* For it is evident, and in Story, yea, and in the *Revelation* also, 1. That the sealed number was a visible Church represented to *John* under the resemblance of two *Candlesticks*, *Rev.*11.4. discerned and seen not onely by *John* (representing the faithful, *Rev.*14.1.) but also by the Dragon, and by his Vicegerent the Beast, who persecuted the Woman and her seed (that is the Church and her Members) *Rev.*12.13. to 17. and cap. 13.6, 7. The *Church* visible to malignant persecutors, was doubtlesse visible in it self, and in its Members one to another. 2. It is evident that in *Luthers* time, and many ages before the *Waldenses* lived, and when *Luther* came, wrote to *Luther* and to *Calvin* also, who not onely

kept Church-assemblies amongst themselves, but exercised the power of the keyes among themselves; How then can the Author of the Epistle say, That there was not any face of Officials, but among the Papists in *Luthers* time? What could be spoken more effectually to gratifie the Papists, and to confirme their boasting, that either the Church of *Rome* was the onely visible Church upon the face of the earth, or else Christ had no visible Church upon earth for above a thousand yeares together? It is a very slender and lean evasion, to excuse the rooting out of Ordinances for having any being upon earth, "to hold they have a beeing in "the Scriptures of truth, and in the mindes and desires of the "faithfull. For we might as well say, *Babylon* hath no being upon earth, but is burnt down with fire, and the *New Jerusalem* is come downe from Heaven, because so it is in the Scriptures of truth, and in the mindes and desires of the faithfull. If we doe (as he saith) in this our returne from *Babylon*, carry (as the *Israelites* did of old) the vessels of the Lord along with us, why should we be afraid to officiate in them? "We dare not, saith he, offi- "ciate in them, because we are as yet within the territories of *Ba-* "*bylon*, and so shall be, till we have passed by the *sixth Viall*, over "the River *Euphrates*. Rev. 16.12.

Answ. There might be some colour for this, if the Churches of *Europe*, and of the Western *America*, were in Scripture-phrase the *Kings of the East*. For they that are said to passe over the River *Euphrates* in that *sixth Viall*, are expressly styled the *Kings of the East*. But sooner shall a man draw East and West together, than prove *Christian Churches* to be the *Kings of the East*, or that we are still in the territories of *Babylon*, till we have passed by the *sixth Viall* over the River *Euphrates*: yea suppose we were still in the territories of *Babylon*, yet nevertheless, though the *Jewes* of old did not perform Temple-worship within the territories of *Babylon*, (because that worship was confined to the Temple) yet we in the dayes of the New Testament (where the worship of God is not limited to any place) the true worshippers may worship the Father, even in the midst of *Rome*. And so did the *Waldenses*, and other of our godly fore-fathers within the Roman territories. The mention of the *sixth Viall* putteth me in minde of an wholsome warning delivered in it by Christ, and that

to

to the Saints of this age in a speciall manner. *Behold I come as a thief* (not to the last Judgement which is no yet, but) *to rob men of their garments of their former profession. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his shame.* Rev. 16, 15. *AMEN.*

Mr. *Cottons* Letter to Mr. *Elmeston*, upon his writing back to thank him for this labour of love in imparting unto me his judgment upon Mr. *Hendens* Letter, and my signifying the slight account that Mr. *Henden* made thereof.

Deare SIR,

I Thank you for your last Letter, of March 5. 1651. *whereunto I would have returned you a large Answer, but that God having lately afflicted me with an* Asthma, *I finde, stooping to write somewhat painfull to me; which distemper, though (I thank the Lord) it doth not yet silence me from publick Ministry, yet it keepeth me within the town, that I cannot go to neighbour towns to hear, else I had gone abroad to have joyned this day with the* Indians *at* Natick (*about* 20 *miles from us*) *in a day of Humiliation, wherein they intend to give themselves to the Lord, and to the worship of Christ in a Church-way. It is a wise dispensation of the Lord that when many Christians with you, and with us too, fall off from Christs Institution and Ordinances, that now God should stir up poor Pagans to seek after the same. But so it was in the dayes of old,* Acts 13.46,47,48. and 28.28. *As for your Neighbour, I do not expect the Word should convince him, till the Spirit convert him more from himself, and perswade him. I do not easily believe his saying, that he had met before with all the things presented to him, but self is self-full. I should spend time in vaine to run over the particulars of his notions, unlesse all his grounds were laid open in them. To cut off some sprigs when other lye hid: The best help for such is the prayer of faith, to him that toucheth hearts as well as judgements. If God returne him not, I feare he will*

fall

fall to more and greater exorbitances, till he be filled with his own way, and have enough of himself. But the Lord Jesus redeem him. I commend my affectionate love to you, and you to the riches of his grace, in whom I rest, desirous of your prayers, and yours in brotherly love,

John Cotton.

Boston this 12. of the 8. 1652.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

13

STABLISHING AGAINST SHAKING:

OR,

A Discovery of *the Prince of Darkneſſe* (ſcarcely) transformed into *an Angel of Light*, powerfully now working in the deluded people called, *QUAKERS*:

WITH

A ſober *Anſwer* to their railings againſt *Miniſters* for receiving maintenance from their people.

Being the ſubſtance of one SERMON preached *Feb.* 17. 1655. at *Shalford* in *Eſſex.*

BY

GILES FIRMIN (Paſtour of the Church there) upon occaſion of the *Quakers* troubling thoſe parts.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. G.* for *Nathanael Webb*, and *William Grantham*, at the black Beare in St. *Paul's* Church-yard neer the little North-dore. 1656.

Aug. 28